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ABSTRACT

This report describes the current numbers and status of Asian, European, Soviet, Latin American, and African refugees worldwide and discusses the role of various governments and voluntary agencies in dealing with refugee problems. The need to strengthen the partnership between government and voluntary agencies in order to improve refugee conditions is stressed. Special reports on refugee problems and relief operations are presented for individual countries and regions, including detailed information on United States government refugee policy and sponsorship by U.S. based organizations. A directory of refugee service agencies, relief organizations and human rights groups, a selected bibliography on refugees, and addresses of local affiliates of the American Council for Nationalities Service are appended to the report. (GC)

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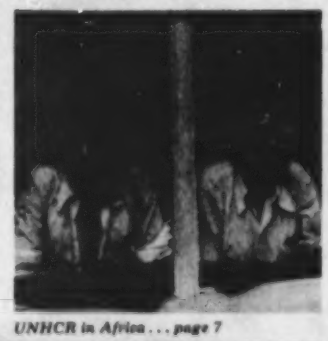

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ERRATUM

Page 38, first column, last paragraph, should read:

More numerous, at the present time, are the victims of such repressive African regimes as those recently removed in Uganda and Equatorial Guinea. Idi Amin and Macias Nguena Biyoga, both gaining power in 1971 and both losing it in 1979, committed offenses so outrageous that they attracted world-wide condemnation.

A broad category of refugees which often encompasses those loyal to opposing forces is that large body of citizens uprooted by liberation struggles, especially in southern Africa. The quarter million Zimbabweans now scattered to Mozambique, Botswana, and Zambia represent but a small portion of the total population affected by groups competing for political supremacy in that war-torn land. In some cases, as in Angola, liberation efforts degenerated into civil war, adding even more chaos and misery to already deplorable conditions. Angola further illustrates how ideological divisions can exacerbate the situation.

1980 World Refugee Survey

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A New Partnership for Refugees

When they are aware of people in need, Americans respond. Time and again our "nation of immigrants" has extended help to refugees. Americans have given billions of dollars to relief agencies, to feed, shelter and reestablish refugees. They have welcomed hundreds of thousands as settlers in the United States. This generosity is based on compassion and knowledge of need.

The task of the privately financed United States Committee for Refugees is to focus attention on refugees and their needs. Since 1959, the committee has provided public information on refugees around the world, and has served as their advocate.

In concentrating on needs, accomplishments are sometimes overlooked. Each year offers examples of international disputes resolved, permitting the return of tens of thousands of refugees to their homes. Each year also sees additional tens of thousands making new homes in countries of first asylum or finding resettlement opportunities in new lands.

International cooperation of concerned citizens, governments, and international organizations *does* bring results.

Last year, the American Council for Nationalities Service, a major refugee resettlement and assistance agency, and the United States Committee for Refugees joined forces to strengthen both the ACNS programs of direct service to refugees and the USCR endeavors in the fields of public information and advocacy. The publication of this expanded annual World Refugee Survey is the first major step in our collaborative effort.

In 1979 world relief agencies launched an emergency effort to save millions of Cambodians dying of famine and disease in their war-ravaged land. Hundreds of thousands came to the border with Thailand where emergency camps such as the one at Sakaeo (below) were hastily improvised. The refugee mother at the right is breast-feeding her baby at a special malnutrition ward. *See:* Cambodia: Famine and Flight, *Page 25.*

UNHCR/R. Daugler

UNICEF/J. Dennis

Introduction by Senator Kennedy

Expanded "Survey" Much Needed

EDWARD M. KENNEDY

by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary,
United States Senate

There are few human dramas more compelling, or more revealing of the troubled times in which we live, than the plight of millions of refugees around the globe. And there are few greater tests of the democratic and humanitarian ideals for which we stand than how we respond to the needs of the world's homeless.

Tragically, refugees have become a worldwide phenomenon — of countless men, women and children forced to leave their homes and lands for as many reasons as there are behind the violence and conflict among people and nations. Today, the refugee crisis is of greater dimension and more complex than at any time in modern history — and, we may hope, for years to come.

Refugees must be of concern to the American people, not only because of our Nation's long and proud humanitarian record in welcoming the "homeless, tempest-tossed . . . masses yearning to breathe free" — but also because refugees pose critical international and foreign policy problems for our country on every continent. From recent history we know only too well that massive refugee movements, and festering humanitarian problems, can unbalance peace and stability in the world as much as any arms race or political or military confrontation.

Therefore, we need to know more about refugees, and the current world refugee problem — for both humanitarian and foreign policy reasons. It is for this reason that I welcome the publication of this expanded edition of the annual World Refugee Survey by the United States Committee for Refugees.

"Survey" Marks New Linkage

This 1980 World Refugee Survey marks a milestone in the work of the U.S. Committee for Refugees. This past year the Committee joined forces with the American Council for Nationalities Service, one of our Nation's most outstanding voluntary agencies engaged in the challenging task of resettling refugees, especially from Indochina. Hopefully this marriage of resources and concern will mean that advocacy for refugees — which has so long characterized the important work of the U.S. Committee — will now benefit from support of an agency actively involved in resettlement.

As readers of the following pages will soon discover, we and others in the international community will have to do much more — marshal more resources and energize all our peoples' concern — if we are to meet the growing needs of refugees around the world.

"We . . . will have to do much more . . . if we are to meet the growing needs . . ."

The United States has a record of accomplishment in offering assistance to refugees, both here at home and abroad. We can be proud of this record. Over many years, I believe we have responded generously and compassionately, and this national policy of welcome has served our country and our traditions well.

But for too long our policy and laws governing refugee assistance have been inadequate to meet growing needs. We have been tardy and uncertain in our response to refugee problems, rather than anticipating them — we have been catching up, rather than planning ahead. In March 1980 the Congress approved refugee reform legislation that I have long sponsored to put our Nation's law on firmer footing, sending to the President for his signature, The Refugee Act of 1980.

Refugee Act's Basic Goals

This legislation is the first major immigration reform to clear the Senate since 1965, and the first general refugee legislation to be adopted since World War II. It up-dates our refugee laws and policies, and accomplishes the following basic goals:

- repeals the Cold War definition of a refugee, substituting the United Nations Refugee Convention and Protocol definition, which we signed in 1969;
- for the first time the bill establishes realistic provisions governing the admission of refugees — both in "normal flow" times of 50,000 (versus 17,400 in current law), and in emergency situations;
- replaces the emergency use of the "parole authority", which is governed only by custom, with a new statutory authoriza-

tion that exerts Congressional control;
- establishes an asylum provision for the first time;
- treats all refugees equally, and gives them "refugee" status, requiring only a one year wait for "permanent resident" status,
- acknowledges the federal responsibility to assist state and local communities and voluntary agencies in resettling refugees by authorizing generous and flexible federal support for domestic resettlement programs.

I believe this new legislation will go a long way towards assuring that America's door will remain open to refugees. And for the tens of thousands of dispossessed and homeless people around the world, the Statue of Liberty means more today than just a symbol of a better life, it may mean life itself.

The "boat people," who have survived the ravages of the high seas in small boats, the attacks of pirates, and the deprivations of little food and water, only to arrive on unfriendly shores, to be pushed back to sea, and to an uncertain fate, cry out for a haven elsewhere. America can and must be such a haven, for unlike many countries we still can afford to be generous in our response.

"America can and must be . . . a haven, for unlike many countries, we still can afford to be generous . . ."

As President John Kennedy wrote in "A Nation of Immigrants," our immigration policy "should be generous; it should be fair; it should be flexible. With such a policy we can turn to the world, and to our own part, with clean hands and a clear conscience." □

UNHCR/M. Bessmer

While the greatest international relief efforts have been concentrated on Indochinese refugees, the refugee crisis in Somalia has worsened to the point where some aid officials believe it represents the largest need in the world, and it is not being met. According to press reports in March, 1980, 4 to 5 million people — refugees and local population — face starvation. The estimated 1 million refugees, from the Ogaden region in Ethiopia, have put extreme pressure on the meager resources of Somalia. To this is added the threat of drought. Refugee women at Agabar Camp in Somalia often have to wait hours to fill their receptacles from nearly-dry springs. See accounts about Africa, Pages 38 and 45.

UNHCR and a Task which Grows

by Dale de Haan
Deputy U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, or UNHCR, no doubt rings strange as a name to American ears, suggesting some forgotten British institution that died with the Empire. Certainly any American marketing specialist would despair over the unpronounceable initials "UNHCR" ever becoming a household word. Yet this was the name the General Assembly christened the organization with in 1951, the successor to a series of international agencies dealing with specific refugee problems, the first being the League of Nations High Commissioner set up in 1921 for Russian refugees.

UNHCR was given a universal mandate when it was established, but many confidently expected that once the remaining refugee camps in Europe were cleared, UNHCR would go quietly out of business. This did not happen. While in its first year UNHCR employed a handful of people and ran on a budget of $400,000, today it is disbursing close to $400 million a year for the benefit of refugees and has a staff of some 900 in more than 65 offices around the world. If it has not become a household word, it has increasingly fulfilled the universal potential of its original mandate and helped more than 25 million refugees.

While such a growth record would be only good news in the board room of a multi-national corporation, when it concerns refugees it is bad news, as well as good news. The bad news in this growth is that the refugee problem, which optimists after the Second World War thought would gradually disappear, has proved to be a persistent feature of our times. The good news is that the international community has proved itself increasingly willing to help refugees and to help refugees through a United Nations organization whose action is solely humanitarian and non-political.

Dale S. de Haan became deputy high commissioner in 1978. Previously he was staff consultant (1961-1968) and staff director (1968-1977) of the subcommittee on refugees of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee and counsel to its chairman, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

UNHCR acts in favor of persons uprooted as a result of war, social strife or persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. As a rule, UNHCR concerns itself with victims of man-made disasters who are outside their country of origin and cannot avail themselves of its legal protection. These people are refugees. Unless they come under the specific mandate of another United Nations agency, they are entitled to UNHCR's protection whatever their geographical location. In certain special circumstances, at the request of the General Assembly and of the Secretary-General, UNHCR also undertakes special humanitarian tasks for which it has particular expertise. Many of those assisted by these "Special Programs" are persons displaced within the borders of their own countries. The total number of refugees and displaced persons of concern to the High Commissioner in 1979 was estimated at well over 10 million. The majority are in Africa and Asia.

UNHCR Functions: Protect and Assist

UNHCR has two main functions: International protection of refugees and, where necessary, the provision of material assistance to those in need.

International protection involves first and foremost the promotion of generous asylum policies and the institutionalization, in law and in practice, of the principle of non-refoulement (banning the forcible return to the country from which the asylum seeker has fled). Once asylum has been secured, UNHCR acts to safeguard the rights of refugees in such vital fields as employment, education, freedom of movement and access to social services.

The protection of refugees is based upon a number of international legal instruments of which the most important are the Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967 relating to the Status of Refugees. As of this writing, 78 States were parties to the Convention and/or the Protocol while several others were actively examining the question of their accession to them. Other international agreements, notably the OAU (Organization of African Unity) Convention of 1969 governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, extend the scope of this legal framework. UNHCR also co-operates with governments in the drafting of national legislation concerning refugees.

Finally, through its physical presence in an increasing number of countries, UNHCR gives a tangible meaning to its role as the international agency specifically entrusted with the protection of refugees.

International protection is essential, but alone it is often not enough to enable a refugee to achieve a permanent solution to his problem whether it be through voluntary repatriation, local settlement in the country of first asylum or permanent resettlement in a third country. Neither the country of first asylum which has primary responsibility for assistance, nor the voluntary agencies present on the spot, may be in a position to provide the funds needed to finance such measures. In these cases, in answer to the government's request, UNHCR applies its limited funds to projects that are designed to supplement funds available locally. Thus, UNHCR normally provides only part of the financing for a given project, but often this contribution has a catalytic effect, serving to mobilize support on a much wider scale.

UNHCR/Sarah Errington

Doctor examines young Eritrean refugee, at UNHCR camp in Sudan.

Material assistance measures vary widely according to need. In the initial phase of a new refugee problem, UNHCR is often called upon to provide immediate relief assistance. This usually takes the form of food, medical supplies and shelter. But UNHCR's material assistance is directed above all at promoting durable solutions.

Best solution: Voluntary Repatriation

In the best of cases, refugees remain outside their countries of origin only as long as upheaval at home forbids their return. In the past thirty years, many refugee crises which appeared insurmountable when they erupted were eventually resolved by mass voluntary repatriation. This of course remains the best solution. In the case of developing countries emerging from liberation wars, the prompt return of exiled populations is almost always essential to the sucess of the initial reconstruction period.

Assistance in voluntary repatriation may involve a large scale transportation and settlement operation as was for example the case in 1972 in Bangladesh and the Southern Sudan, in 1974 in Guinea-Bissau, in 1975 in Angola and Mozambique, in 1979 in Zaire. It may, in other instances, simply entail the payment of travel expenses for individuals.

"Exile is a tearing-away . . .
from the world as it is understood."

Political solutions, however, are not always forthcoming. Hundreds of thousands of refugees from Ethiopia in Sudan, from Burundi in Tanzania, from Angola in Zaire, have lived for so long outside the borders of their own countries that entire generations were born and raised in exile. Durable solutions for them had to take the form of local settlement in the country of first asylum.

In such circumstances, UNHCR helps refugees to settle on the land through the establishment of new rural communities, or through strengthening the infrastructure of the areas in which the refugees can be spontaneously absorbed into the local population. This may include the building or improvement of access roads and water supplies, assistance in agriculture, stock-rearing and fishing, construction of classrooms, dispensaries and community centers, the provision of tools and household utensils, equipment for cottage industries and assistance in the creation of cooperatives.

In planning such programs, UNHCR is careful to take into account the interests of the host community. Refugee populations need not be burdens on those who have welcomed them. Local opinion and the integration of refugees in the productive activities of a region will normally contribute to its development. In the past decade, large rural settlement programs have been implemented for refugees in Senegal, the Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire.

Where voluntary repatriation is impossible and local settlement in the country of first asylum undesirable for social, political or economic reasons, refugees and those working on their behalf must seek opportunities for resettlement abroad. After the end of the Second World War, millions of displaced persons in Europe found new homes, principally in the Americas and Oceania. For a long period thereafter, resettlement of large groups of refugees only occurred in exceptional circumstances such as those obtaining in the southern cone of Latin America after the fall of Chile's government in 1973, or the crisis resulting from the expulsion of some 40,000 Asians from Uganda in 1972.

Resettlement Abroad: Solution of Last Resort

Resettlement in a third country has traditionally been considered to be the least desirable of the durable solutions. Not just because it is more difficult to achieve than repatriation or local settlement, but because of the sorrow which is inevitably attached to it. Exile is a tearing-away, from the past, from loved ones, from the world as it is understood. It creates a despair that older refugees carry to their graves. Yet for all the pain it implies, resettlement in a distant land has once again become the only viable solution for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

At no time in the past 30 years has the international

UPI photo

Young Afghan girl strains with infant on her back, carrying bread at camp in Pakistan, where UNHCR is helping.

community been faced with the task of finding new homes for numbers comparable to those produced by the Indo-Chinese refugee crisis of the late 1970's. As these lines are being written, an average of 25,000 persons leave camps and transit centers in Southeast Asia each month for permanent resettlement abroad.

This has given rise to both satisfaction and concern: Satisfaction of course at this unprecedented demonstration of international solidarity. Concern, because the job of integrating the refugees into their new

"(UNHCR) is disbursing close to $400 million a year."

environments has only just begun and enormous resources and goodwill are still required.

Long after refugees have arrived in their host countries, government and voluntary agencies must act to insure that they have access to housing, employment,

language and vocational training. This is not an easy task, for integration into a new society should not take place at the expense of the refugee's cultural identity. Mutual understanding is required and here also, agencies active in the host country have an essential job to perform.

Refugee Aid: Over 200 Partners

UNHCR constitutes only a part of the overall picture of aid to refugees. A number of countries have governmental or semi-official organizations that deal wholly with refugees or are concerned with them to a large extent. However, over the years perhaps the most sustained and devoted service to the cause of the refugees has been provided by voluntary agencies. In some instances they are non-denominational like Red Cross Societies, but in many cases they are linked with churches.

Voluntary or governmental agencies usually act as "operational partners" for UNHCR, in the implementation of specific projects. Very often the operational partner contributes to the financing of the project as well. In all, UNHCR has dealings with more than 200 agencies of widely varying affiliations and interests throughout the world.

To fulfill its responsibilities in the field of material assistance to refugees, UNHCR must rely upon funds put at its disposal by government and private sources. All its assistance activities whether they fall under the category of General or Special Programs are financed by voluntary contributions. Only administrative costs, representing significantly less than 10 per cent of total expenditures are absorbed by the budget of the United Nations. The number of governments contributing to UNHCR programs has risen from 50 in 1965 to more than 80 in 1979, reflecting the increased understanding for UNHCR's work throughout the world.

In today's world, refugees and displaced persons occupy a prominent place. Even though considerable efforts have been mobilized to assist them, indeed often with success, their numbers are increasing, their tragedies burst upon the everyday scene and their sufferings reach new dimensions. As 1979 draws to a close, over half a million refugees from Indochina are stranded in camps and transit centers stretching from Thailand to the Philippines. More than twice as many refugees from Ethiopia threaten, by the sheer weight

France Given Medal Honoring Pioneer in Aid for Refugees

The Nansen Medal of the United Nations for outstanding service to refugees was awarded to French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in ceremonies held at the Palais des Nations in Geneva in December. The French President was selected in honor of France's "exceptional record" of humanitarianism and asylum afforded refugees. Selection was by an international committee under the chairmanship of UN High Commissioner for Refugees Poul Hartling. This annually awarded medal, first given in 1954, is named in honor of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, a pioneer in the field of international humanitarian aid to refugees and League of Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees over 50 years ago.

Symbols of the UN and UNHCR.

of numbers, to choke the developing economies of Djibouti, Somalia and the Sudan. In Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, refugee settlements remain vulnerable to murderous attacks by racist forces. Algeria, Bangladesh, Cyprus, Nicaragua, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire. No continent has a monopoly on human suffering.

While UNHCR obviously has a broad mandate both for the provision of international protection of refugees and in the area of material assistance, there are nonetheless constraints on the ability of UNHCR to deal with emerging refugee problems as expeditiously as we and others might like.

Foremost is the fact that sovereign nations are sovereign. Clearly UNHCR must act in concert with and through those governments which are providing asylum for refugees. Sometimes this requirement results in what may seem undue delay or inefficiency.

Secondly, the UNHCR is entirely dependent upon the responsiveness of the international community — governments, voluntary agencies and individuals — for the massive funding required to meet refugee needs throughout the world. In many instances, particularly where refugee problems have received broad international recognition, needed funds are available at the time of need. In other cases, those involving refugee problems relatively unknown to the world at large, adequate funding to meet even minimum material assistance requirements is often difficult to secure. Thus, the role and effectiveness of UNHCR must be viewed within the context of international law and the rights of sovereign states, and within the realistic framework of available resources.

UNHCR's task is not to resolve the international problems that provoke the exodus of refugees. But it must do all within its power and competence to see that those who become refugees cease to be refugees within a reasonable time. Though no one can predict what the 1980's hold in store, recent experience suggests that this can be achieved. Refugee crises which appeared insurmountable when they erupted have time and again been resolved thanks to the co-ordinated efforts of the international community. Parallel to the growth of the refugee problem worldwide, there appears to be developing an ever increasing capacity of response. We cannot allow this momentum to be reversed.

Looking back in an attempt to draw some general lessons from nearly three decades of successive crises, two themes emerge in clear outline. Firstly, there is no end to the cycle. Refugees will exist as long as war and injustice exist. Secondly, refugee problems can be solved. The planet is large enough to accommodate us all provided there is goodwill and we all do our part. □

United Nations

Poul Hartling (left), UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, hold a press conference at the conclusion of a meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in July, 1979. The unprecedented 65-nation session in Geneva ended with substantial new commitments of funds and places of permanent asylum for refugees in Southeast Asia.

U. S. Refugee Programs Strengthened

by Victor H. Palmieri
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Until 1979, most U.S. program-planning and legislation on refugee assistance and admissions to this country reflected the notion that refugee problems would always be limited and sporadic occurrences. The United States maintained its long humanitarian tradition of helping those uprooted from their homes by persecution and civil strife, but we responded to each crisis as it emerged as if it were an aberration of international politics. Events in recent years, particularly in 1979, suggest that refugee problems have unfortunately become a chronic feature of our times, and that they will remain massive and persistent for the foreseeable future.

In response to these undeniable trends, the United States has substantially revised the planning and magnitude of its refugee programs, as well as the legislation governing refugee assistance and admissions. While we in the Coordinator's office believe steps taken in the last year will considerably strengthen our ability to prepare for and respond to refugee situations around the world, we must still contend with the fact that refugee problems remain inherently volatile and unpredictable. U.S. refugee assistance will essentially be crisis management for years to come.

Refugee developments during 1979 demonstrate how the nature of the challenge has changed. Particularly in Southeast Asia, the scope of the problem now far exceeds the ability of any one nation to provide humanitarian relief, much less resolve the conflicts that generate refugee flows. We have continued to play a major role in responding to the special needs of the Indochinese refugees and the problems created for the first-asylum countries burdened with large refugee populations. Our national commitment has been reconfirmed in President Carter's decision in June 1979 to double our resettlement of Indochinese refugees from 7,000 to 14,000 a month, and in Congressional support for budget requests that also doubled our contributions to assistance in Southeast Asia. But to maximize the efficiency and resources available for refugee activities, we have also devoted considerable efforts to encouraging greater international participation in refugee relief and strengthening the multilateral organizations best suited to refugee assistance.

The international response to the desperate plight of the "boat people" and famine victims in Kampuchea (Cambodia) has been unprecedented in its generosity. Yet the sad fact remains that the inhumanity at the heart of the problem is still beyond our control. Refugees and other displaced persons continue to depend on outside support for survival and resettlement. Persistent problems in the Middle East, continued refugee flows from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and the sudden deterioration of refugee situations in Pakistan and the Horn of Africa at the beginning of 1980 remind us that suffering and dislocation are by no means limited to Southeast Asia.

. . . the scope of the refugee problem far exceeds the ability of any one nation to provide humanitarian relief . . .

Victor Palmieri, named Coordinator in November, is chairman of his own management company. Previously he practiced law in his home city of Los Angeles. In 1967-8 he was deputy director of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner commission). He is a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, and a number of other institutions.

Southeast Asia

The Indochinese refugee problem reached crisis proportions in the spring and early summer of 1979, as deteriorating political, military, and economic conditions led to a dramatic increase in the number of people fleeing by land and especially by boat. Some governments in the region reacted in desperation to prospects of continuing waves of refugees by refusing to grant even temporary asylum to new arrivals, or by threatening to expel the refugees they had been sheltering, in many cases for years. The result was mounting loss of life, chaotic and unhealthy camp conditions, and threats to the stability of Southeast Asia. The crisis culminated in a conference convened by the

United Nations in Geneva in July, where the international community responded to the pleas of the refugees and the first-asylum countries with an outpouring of financial pledges and offers of permanent resettlement. Viet Nam also bowed to international pressure for a "moratorium" on what amounted to forced departures of ethnic Chinese and others considered undesirable in the restructured Vietnamese society.

. . . almost 300,000 Indochinese have resettled in the United States since 1975 . . .

The crisis in mid-1979 brought to a climax world concern over the increasingly serious impact of the Indochinese refugee situation, which had not been seen in its true human and political perspective since the collapse of the non-communist governments in the spring of 1975. In the interim, the problem had primarily been the concern of the neighboring Southeast Asian countries, which watched the deteriorating conditions within Indochina and bore the brunt of the continuing refugee flow. The initial wave of refugees consisted of about 230,000 people who fled Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia for resettlement in non-communist countries. By the end of 1975, about 170,000 had been resettled outside the region, primarily in the United States, France, Canada, and Australia. But about 60,000 remained in first-asylum camps in Southeast Asia, most of them in Thailand.

The refugee flow subsided somewhat in the next two years (arrivals in the first-asylum countries totaled about 41,000 in 1976 and 48,000 in 1977). As in 1975, the primary motive for leaving remained fear of persecution because of ties with the United States or the previous non-communist governments of Indochina, or inability to adapt to life under the new communist regimes. About half of those who fled received resettlement offers in third countries, but thousands without strong claims to resettlement elsewhere lingered in makeshift camps in Southeast Asia. By the end of 1977 the camp population reached 100,000. But none of the first-asylum countries wished to absorb the Indochinese permanently because of traditional ethnic hostility and their own population pressures and political and economic problems.

The first-asylum countries became more alarmed at the refugee problem in 1978, as the size and the nature of the flow began to change. The arrival rates climbed sharply in the summer and fall. Perhaps more troubling to the Southeast Asians than the sheer numbers was the upsurge in the proportion of ethnic Chinese, a people traditionally held in suspicion throughout the region for a combination of cultural, historic, economic and religious reasons.

The ethnic Chinese had become increasingly subject to persecution in Viet Nam when the Hanoi regime initiated drastic measures to restructure South Vietnamese society early in 1978. As merchants and professionals, they were among the first victims of efforts by the communist authorities to eliminate heavy urban populations and the commercial and professional classes in South Viet Nam. Rising tensions between Viet Nam and China in 1978 also encouraged the Vietnamese to see their own Chinese minority as a security threat, particularly in the north along the border. In the face of systematic discrimination, almost

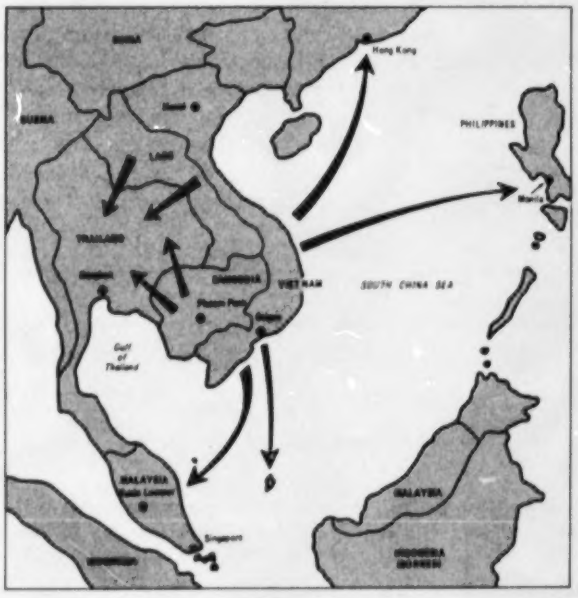
UNHCR/K. Gaugler

Refugees from Viet Nam pilot their small boat off Malaysia's coast.

200,000 Sino-Vietnamese fled overland to China before the border was closed. Later others continued to flee to China as well as to Hong Kong by boat.

The war between China and Viet Nam in early 1979 brought the problem to a head. The Hanoi authorities gave the remaining ethnic Chinese (estimated to be about 1.5 million) the choice of banishment to isolated and undeveloped "new economic zones" where they would have no means of livelihood, or else paying for "assisted departure" from Viet Nam by boat. In either case, the individual had to give up home, possessions and livelihood for good. A new boat-building industry developed specifically for refugee departures, and middlemen were openly identified to arrange passage for large sums of gold. Joining this exodus of "boat people" who left with official connivance was a steady stream of ethnic Vietnamese who had to plan clandestine escapes or pretend to be of ethnic Chinese origin. Arrivals by boat in first-asylum countries reached 46,000 in May. Some observers believe that half again as many set out but died of exposure, starvation, pirate attack, or drowning en route, or died after being refused asylum and then forced back to sea.

At the same time, Hanoi's concerted policies of expansionism and persecution of unwanted minorities also led to a new influx of refugees entering Thailand overland from Laos and Kampuchea. These land refugees included ethnic Chinese forced out as the Vietnamese extended their domination throughout the Indochina peninsula, Hmong tribesmen escaping military extermination operations in the highlands of Laos, and Khmer fleeing civil war and food shortages after the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea in January of 1979. Because its camps were already so overcrowded with refugees who had been waiting up to four years for resettlement, the beleaguered Thai Government refused to grant the new Khmer refugee status or let them enter camps under the jurisdiction of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Half of the 80-90,000 Khmer "illegal persons" in Thailand were forcibly repatriated in June, and many of them died on their return of disease or starvation, or at the hands of the warring Pot Pot and Heng Samrin forces. (It was not until October, when the famine and conflict reached holocaust proportions in Kampuchea and the crisis of the boat people had abated somewhat, that Thai authorities agreed to an open-door policy for the Khmer as well as others fleeing Viet Nam and Laos, although they still denied the Khmer refugee status.)



Refugee routes, by land and sea.

Meanwhile, about 60,000 refugees received asylum throughout Southeast Asia in June, bringing the total refugee camp population to approximately 370,000. As Malaysia and Indonesia also hardened their previously generous policies of first asylum and threatened to repulse arriving refugees by force, widespread support gathered for British Prime Minister Thatcher's proposal that the United Nations convene a special meeting on the Indochinese refugee problem.

UN Secretary General Waldheim invited 72 nations to attend the meeting, which he convened in Geneva July 20-21. Vice President Mondale led the U.S. delegation and delivered an address confirming President Carter's pledge at the Tokyo economic summit in June to double the admission of Indochinese refugees to the United States from 7,000 to 14,000 a month. Mondale also stated our intention to increase substantially our financial contributions to the UNHCR, to use the Seventh Fleet to rescue refugees in distress on the South China Sea, and to support an agreement reached in May between the UNHCR and Hanoi for a

program of "orderly departures" from Viet Nam as an alternative to hazardous departures by boat.

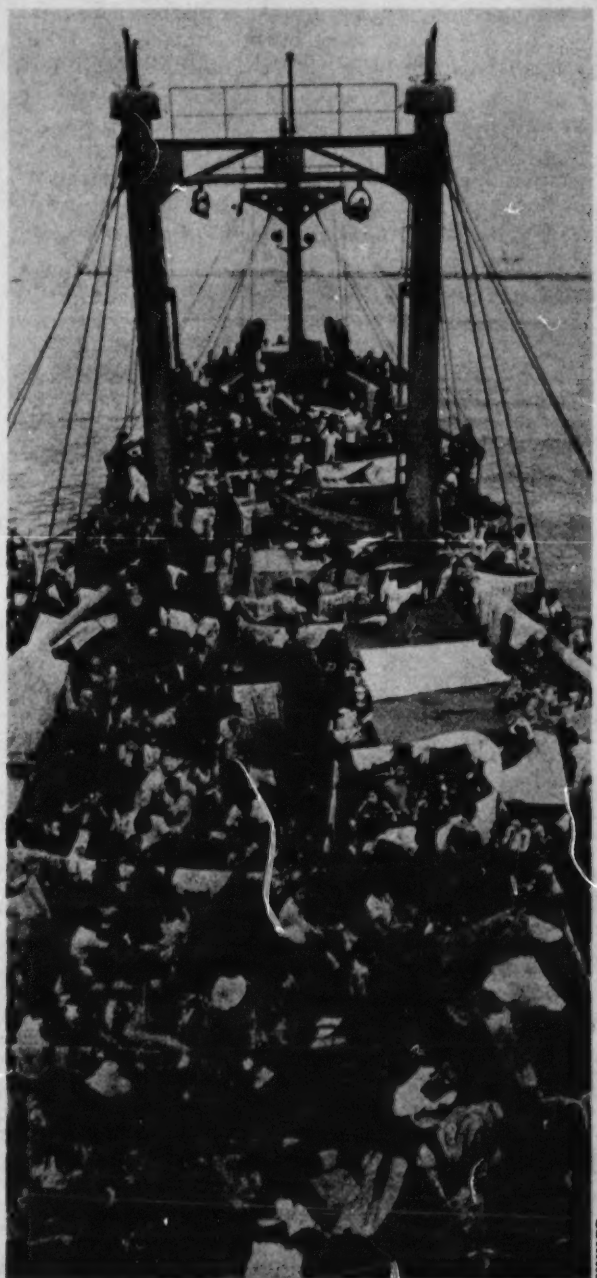
In part due to the humanitarian lead by the United States, other countries also responded generously. In total, resettlement offers available for the following year increased from 120,000 to 260,000, and the UNHCR received pledges of $190 million (specifically, Japan pledged to meet 50 percent of the UNHCR's program needs for Southeast Asia in 1979). The Philippine Government offered a site for a new refugee processing center (RPC) to accommodate up to 50,000 refugees from overcrowded camps in other first-asylum countries.

. . . U.S. refugee assistance: $560 million in Fiscal 1979, over $1 billion in 1980. . .

Earlier Indonesia had offered a site for an RPC for 10,000 refugees.

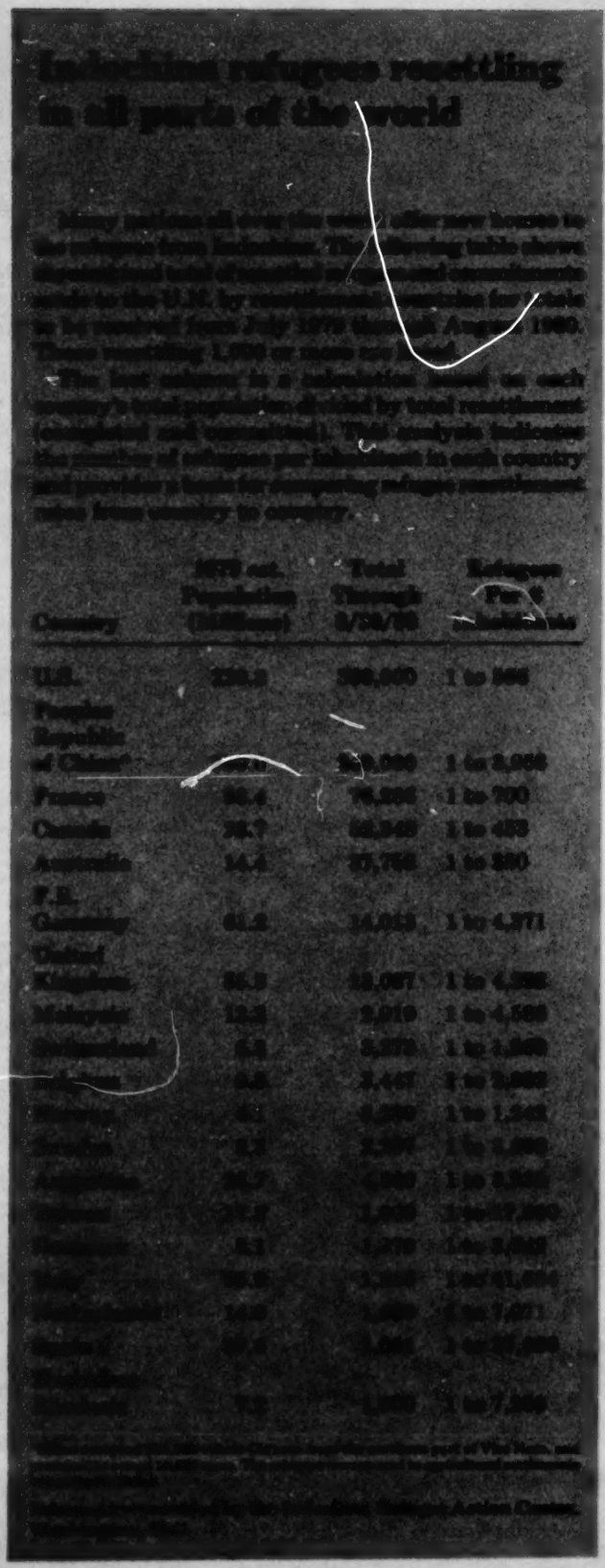
Hanoi clearly noted both Viet Nam's increasing isolation from its resentful neighbors and the desire of the world community to resolve the Indochinese refugee problem. At Geneva, Vietnamese representatives indicated to Secretary General Waldheim that they would stem what they called "illegal departures" from Viet Nam for a "reasonable period of time." Subsequently, arrivals of ethnic Chinese from Viet Nam (who had become 66 percent of the boat flow in June) declined sharply. In August there were fewer than 9,000 boat arrivals in first-asylum countries, almost entirely ethnic Vietnamese clandestine escapees. By the end of 1979, boat arrivals had dropped to about 2,000 per month. There was a similar, although less dramatic, decline in overland arrivals, excluding the Khmer. In addition, departures from the camps for resettlement in third countries more than doubled and remained steady at about 25,000 a month for the last quarter of 1979. As a result, there was a net decline in camp populations for the first time since 1976, down about 100,000 from the summer to about 270,000 at the end of the year.

As a result of the steps taken at the Geneva meeting, the immediate humanitarian situation in Southeast Asia, except for Kampuchea, seems to be somewhat less desperate. Viet Nam has apparently used its domestic authority to curb a great part of its refugee exodus.



UNHCR

Jammed aboard a freighter, these refugees paid bribes to leave Viet Nam.



U.S. Refugee Programs

(Continued)

While this is an obvious restriction on freedom of emigration, it has reduced refugee arrival rates and eased pressures on first-asylum countries.

Despite this reduction and the restoration of the principle of first asylum, there is uncertainty about the longer term prospects for the Indochinese refugees and the stability of the region. No one knows how long the Vietnamese authorities will respect the moratorium on "assisted departures," especially in light of the lack of progress on large-scale orderly departures directly from Viet Nam to this country and others with similar programs (held up primarily because Viet Nam insists that other countries should take some part of its unwanted population, not just those with close associations or family ties to the country of destination). Without renewed guarantees of third-country resettlement offers, the first-asylum countries might react to increased arrivals with the draconian policies they began to implement last spring. For its part, the United States has fulfilled its resettlement pledge. The U.S. began accelerating admissions of Indochinese refugees soon after President Carter's announcement in Tokyo, and since September has been averaging 14,000 admissions a month. By the end of the year, almost 300,000 Indochinese had resettled in the United States since 1975.

The volatile nature of the situation in Southeast Asia is amply evident in the sudden deterioration of military and economic conditions within Kampuchea in the late summer and fall, which displaced millions of Khmer from their homes and increased immeasurably the pressures on Thailand and the international relief organizations (see article on page 25—Ed.). At the year's end this new crisis was only one of many refugee situations that concerned the United States around the globe. The following are highlights of other significant refugee events during 1979.

Africa

At the same time the world was preoccupied with the refugee crisis in Southeast Asia, refugee populations in Africa — already the largest of any continent — continued to grow at alarming rates in several areas, particularly in the Horn. Continued conflict and drought in Ethiopia generated refugees fleeing toward Sudan, Djibouti, and Somalia. In the last few months of 1979, Somalia's refugee burden swelled to nearly one million

(only half of them in camps) and far surpassed the country's ability to provide care and maintenance. The United States became increasingly concerned about this situation and encouraged the UNHCR to issue a special appeal to meet the new needs. In addition, unsettled internal conditions and drought in Uganda resulted in considerable dislocation and migration.

Since there is very little demand from African refugees for resettlement in the United States, U.S. refugee assistance in Africa consists primarily of support for multilateral activities such as care and maintenance, repatriation, and resettlement in place in Africa. In addition to our contributions to the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), we provide some bilateral aid to help certain countries in absorbing refugees (see article about Africa by Payne Lucas, page 38, and following pages.—Ed.).

Europe

From the U.S. perspective, another major refugee development in 1979 was the upsurge of refugees leaving the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for resettlement in the West. The Soviets relaxed emigration restrictions considerably, and the flow of Soviet Jews for the year reached a high of 52,000 of whom 33,900 chose to resettle in the United States (see article on page 35—Ed.).

Strengthening U.S. Refugee Policies and Programs

These highlights of refugee events in 1979 indicate the nature of the challenge to the United States and the international community around the world. Overseas refugee problems, combined with problems in resettling refugees in this country, have created a need for more extensive and flexible means of managing refugee crises and formulating refugee policy. In 1979 both the scope of U.S. refugee assistance and the role of the federal government increased substantially.

Expanded U.S. involvement resulted in part from the sheer increase in the numbers of refugees worldwide who needed assistance in place or who sought resettlement in this country. But even before the new influx of Soviet and Indochinese refugees began straining existing programs, a feeling had developed at every level of the government, as well as among the voluntary agencies, that U.S. refugee activities needed improved planning, coordination, and funding. The private and voluntary sectors have traditionally borne the burden of refugee resettlement in this country, and they have done an admirable job. But they are facing new and different demands, since the refugees often arrive less prepared to adjust to life in the United States yet face greater competition for adequate housing and employment than their predecessors.

The first of several steps taken by the U.S. Government to meet this new challenge was the creation of the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs as a focal point for all U.S. refugee efforts. In February 1979 President Carter announced the nomination of former Senator Dick Clark to be the first U.S. Coordinator (Clark resigned on October 31, 1979). The Coordinator is confirmed by the Senate with the rank of Ambassador-at-Large and given the responsibility for, among other things, coordinating the overseas and domestic programs of all federal agencies, developing overall refugee admissions and resettlement policy, and maintaining close ties with state and local governments and voluntary agencies. The Coordinator has a small staff located in the State Department, but the office has an interagency function. He provides policy guidance to the State Department's Office of Refugee Programs in the same way he oversees refugee activities of other federal agencies, such as ACTION, the Agency for International Development, and the departments of Commerce, Justice, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

The second major step to strengthen U.S. refugee programs was the introduction in March 1979 of a new Refugee Act, a legislative package drafted in close cooperation with the House and Senate Judiciary committees in recognition of the need to overhaul existing piecemeal refugee legislation. After extensive hearings, the bill was passed by the Senate in September and by the House in December. Differences between the two versions have been resolved, and the Refugee Act is expected to come into effect on April 1, 1980.

The Refugee Act of 1980 provides the first comprehensive statutory statement of U.S. refugee policy, as well as a general framework for planning and managing more equitable refugee admissions and assistance programs. Among other provisions, the bill eliminates current outmoded geographic and ideological criteria for admission to this country, raises the admissions ceiling to 50,000 refugees a year, authorizes the President to adjust admissions levels if circumstances warrant,

U.S. Refugee Programs *(Continued)*

makes all refugees regardless of origin eligible for certain basic social services, and equalizes the financial burden of refugee assistance in this country by authorizing full federal reimbursement to the states for the costs of helping refugees for three years after their arrival.

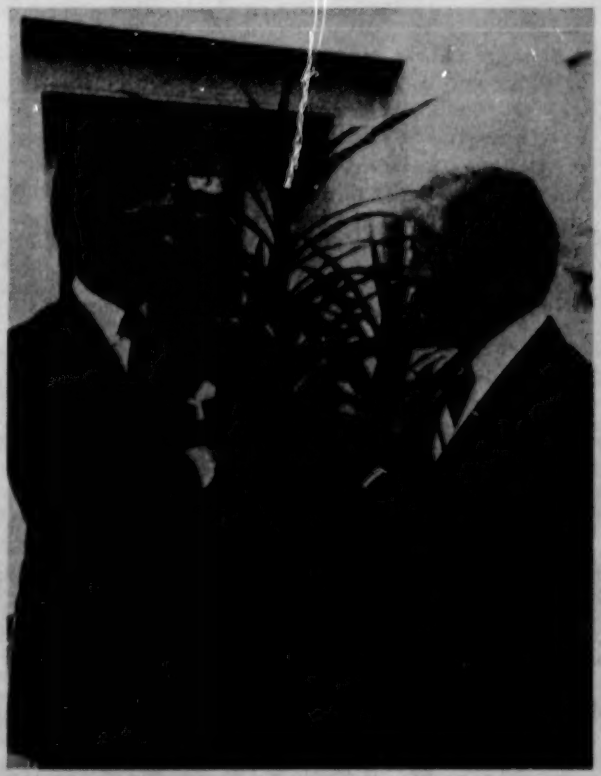
The third step in improving U.S. refugee assistance was a general review of the domestic resettlement process. Working groups under the guidance of the Coordinator's office studied existing and potential program resources in the areas of orientation and job-training (both overseas in refugee processing centers and on arrival in the United States), medical screening

. . . Strengthening the partnership between government and voluntary efforts is essential to meet refugee challenges . . .

and services, housing, community tensions involving refugees, and efforts to develop public support for refugee programs. In addition, the Coordinator's office worked with the State Department and the voluntary agencies to revise the terms of the grant agreements with voluntary agencies for initial services to refugees arriving in this country.

Together these steps should considerably strengthen our ability to respond quickly and adequately to emerging refugee crises, as well as to do the kind of long-term policy planning that is clearly needed for refugee programs of the magnitude that the United States is now funding. U.S. refugee assistance overseas and in this country totaled $560 million in Fiscal Year 1979 (ending Sept. 30, 1979—Ed.), and it may reach $1.085 billion in FY 1980, depending on final Congressional action.

The steady increase in U.S. assistance is a sign of a strong U.S. commitment to try to ease refugee problems worldwide. In addition, contributions by the private sector, particularly the voluntary agencies, make it possible for the United States to have an even greater impact on refugee situations. Strengthening this partnership is essential if we are to continue meeting the kind of refugee challenges that developed around the world in 1979. □



President Jimmy Carter discusses U.S. refugee programs with Victor Palmieri, named by the President to be Coordinator of Refugee Affairs.

Voluntary Agencies and Resettlement

by Robert DeVecchi
International Rescue Committee

The Indochinese refugee crisis has entered its sixth year. What began as a short term emergency in the spring of 1975 has grown and intensified to totally unforeseen and unprecedented dimensions. It has become the most complex and challenging burden the traditional private voluntary resettlement agencies have ever faced. It has also required a degree of collaboration and cooperation, not only between agencies themselves, but also with federal, state and local governments, on a scale never before known.

The end of the crisis is nowhere yet in sight. Indeed, the numbers of refugees now being resettled by the voluntary agencies is greater than at any time since 1975. And yet, despite these challenges and burdens, the private voluntary agencies have to date been equal to the tasks they have assumed and met their responsibilities. In the process they have grown in strength and in professional competence.

It began in May, 1975, with the sudden collapse of the Lon Nol government in Cambodia, followed by the equally sudden collapse of the Thieu regime in Viet Nam. In addition, the political spectrum in Laos swung to the eventual domination of the Pathet Lao. Within a brief period, all of Indochina was claimed by indigenous communist forces, and 15 years of American involvement came to an abrupt end.

The spotlight was on Viet Nam and the dramatic evacuation of Saigon. In a period of days some 150,000 Vietnamese were brought out. Of these, some 135,000 were destined to be resettled in the United States, with the primary actors in the drama being the private voluntary resettlement agencies.

U.S. Asks Help from Agencies

It was relatively late in the day when the agencies' assistance was first requested by the U.S. government. Immediate attention had focused on the evacuation, the setting up of emergency transit camps in the Pacific and the opening of four major refugee camps in the United States — Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, Camp Pendleton in Southern California, Fort Chaffee in Arkansas and Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania.

The traditional voluntary resettlement agencies, listed in the table with this article, comprised religion-related and secular groups. Religion-related agencies included the largest, United States Catholic Conference; the Protestant agencies, Church World Service and Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service; the evangelical Protestants' World Relief and Refugee Services, and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. The non-sectarian agencies included the International Rescue Committee, the American Council for Nationalities Service, the Tolstoy Foundation and the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees.

This group of agencies has borne the brunt of the resettlement effort since 1975. There have been some state resettlement programs — in particular Iowa and Washington — and other agencies in the program, but the overwhelming number of the nearly 300,000 Indochinese refugees resettled to date have been resettled by one of the original agencies.

The initial efforts were in the four refugee camps in the United States. The voluntary agencies established offices in each camp and began at once the process of finding and developing sponsors — church groups, social service organizations, local civic groups and the like — willing to commit themselves to undertake the moral responsibility to resettle a refugee or a refugee family in their community.

In the eight months from May through December, 1975, some 130,000 Vietnamese and 5,000 Cambodian refugees passed through one of the camps and out into American society to begin new lives. The key to leaving the camp was having a sponsor to go to and the key to having a sponsor was through one of the voluntary agencies.

A Remarkable Achievement

In hindsight, this was a remarkable achievement. It represented the largest number of refugees ever resettled by the voluntary agencies in so brief a period of time. It called for a sudden enlargement of each agency's structure in a very short time and the creation almost overnight of a nationwide refugee-voluntary agency network.

Much of this was made possible by the funding

Robert DeVecchi is director of the Indochina program for the International Rescue Committee, whose staff he joined in 1975. Previously he worked with U.S. Foreign Service and Save the Children Foundation.

provided by the federal government under the Indochinese Refugee Act of 1975. The voluntary agencies were provided a per capita resettlement grant of $500. In addition, refugees were made eligible for public assistance, Medicaid and food stamps in the event the sponsor was unable to provide sufficient assistance. These benefits, administered by each state, were made 100 per cent reimbursable to the state by the federal government. Special funds were allocated as well to school districts which required help in coping with an influx of non English speaking refugee children.

1976 was a year of consolidation and adjustment, following the massive efforts to close the camps. Refugees either took root in their new communities or began to move about in search of new opportunities. Gradually, the first Vietnamese communities this country had ever known began to emerge. The largest concentrations were on the west coast, especially the southern California area from Los Angeles to San Diego. Other communities sprang up as well, with particular concentrations in Texas, Illinois, Pennsylvania, the Washington D.C. area and the state of Washington. Recognizing the need for on-going social services, especially English language and vocational training, as well as the mental health needs of the refugees, a series of HEW funded special projects were established along with programs funded through individual state social service plans. The period of initial resettlement was ending, and the longer range period of adjustment and final resettlement began.

Greater Expansion Demanded

While the voluntary agency focus in the United States was on this process, storm clouds were gathering in Southeast Asia that would soon present new and unimaginable challenges to the absorptive capacity and resiliency of the agencies. They were first observed in the continual outflow of refugees from Laos into Thailand, many of whom had been directly involved in or closely associated with the U.S. military efforts in that country. In the latter part of 1976 and into 1977, there was a special resettlement program for 15,000 of these refugees.

In early 1977 the phenomenon of Vietnamese refugees risking their lives in leaky boats to find freedom first became noticeable. During 1977 and into 1978, additional resettlement programs were authorized, and once again the voluntary agencies were the key actors in the drama. By late 1978, the resettlement rate of Vietnamese, Lao, Lao hill tribes and Cambodians had risen to 7,000 per month. During this period, the voluntary agencies went from crisis to crisis as federal funds were cut or payments delayed. None the less, by establishing more closely coordinated procedures for processing cases and through an intricate web of agency structures across the country, the resettlement goals were met.

All this, however, was but prelude to the dramatic events of 1979, when the flow of boat people rose to 70,000 in one month alone. While over 200,000 Indochinese refugees had been resettled in the United States since 1975, more than 200,000 new refugees were filling the fetid camps of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Hong Kong.

It was against this background that President Carter in the late spring of 1979 announced that the United States would double its quota of Indochinese refugees to 14,000 per month or 168,000 per year for the indefinite future. Once again, the voluntary agencies were asked if they could handle such a massive undertaking. Once again the answer was affirmative.

Coordinating is a Big Responsibility

The resettlement program has reached a level of complexity and interdependence between agencies scarcely imaginable but a few years ago. Representatives of the voluntary agencies work in the field with U.S. Embassy staff in the processing, interviewing and documenting of cases. A coordinating council under the American Council of Voluntary Agencies handles the allocations of cases to the individual agencies. In areas of major refugee concentration, local councils or forums, in which all agencies represented in the area participate, play a critical coordinating role, both in working with each other and with federal, state and local governments as well as other local social service agencies.

All of this has been accomplished not without pain, problems and difficulties. These will always be present, and indeed may get worse, as the numbers continue to swell. Local problems of housing, jobs and community relations together with the ever present problems the refugees bring with them — health, lack of English, lack of skills and the like — will be chronic and require the most intense efforts by all concerned. In many respects, the program will become more difficult each month.

None the less, the commitment made by the private voluntary resettlement agencies in 1975 remains valid today. As this is being written, another 500 refugees, directly from squalid camps, will be arriving. By nightfall all will be housed somewhere, and they will be clothed and fed. Shortly their health problems will be attended to. Their children will be entered into school. They will be helped in finding jobs and training. In brief, the 500 who came today will join the 300,000 who have come before them and will be joined by 500 more tomorrow, and so on into the future. The voluntary agencies have met the challenge so far and are determined to hold the course until the crisis ends and all the Indochinese refugees admitted to this country are able to begin new lives, in freedom and with dignity.

This discussion of the role of the voluntary agencies in assisting Indochinese refugees to resettle in the United States is the most recent example of a tradition of aid to those who have fled their homes. Following World War II the agencies helped resettle hundreds of thousands of Eastern European refugees and displaced persons, and later, they did the same for large numbers of Hungarians, Cubans, Czechs and Asians from Uganda.

What is described here is not an independent phenomenon; the voluntary agencies are the visible working of the concern of the American public, the action of the people in their private capacity, responding to those in need. □

UN/J.K. Isaac

Refugees at a camp in Malaysia fill out U.S. immigration forms.

15-Month Totals by Agency

Resettlement of Indochinese refugees in the United States, listed by the number of people assisted by each of 11 voluntary agencies in the U.S. during period Oct. 1, 1978 to Jan. 1, 1980, within the Carter Administration's Refugee Program.

Agency	Number Resettled
ACNS (Church World Service)	16,739
AFSC (American Friends Service Committee)	2,897
CWS (Catholic Relief Services)	14,708
HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society)	4,322
IRC (International Rescue Committee)	11,824
LCA (Lutheran Council in the USA)	986
LIRS (Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service)	11,199
USCC (United States Catholic Conference)	1,998
WRC (World Relief Commission)	49,730
YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association)	4,911
Other	244
Total	119,159

Emigration to the U.S. requires sponsorship by a local group, family or individual. The nine voluntary agencies mentioned on page 19 arrange sponsorship in different ways. Descriptions of three of them follow . . .

Sponsorships: *U.S. Catholic Conference*

by Donald G. Hohl
U.S. Catholic Conference

Upon the fall of South Viet Nam in March 1975, approximately 135,000 Vietnamese were evacuated and brought to processing centers in the United States for resettlement here. Almost overnight, bishops in 170 dioceses in all 50 states, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands appointed resettlement directors to work at the local level. Thus, the National Catholic Resettlement Council, which has been active in only a small number of dioceses in recent years, was reconstituted to serve yet another population of refugees in need.

The resettlement council had originally been established in the aftermath of World War II to help handle the influx of displaced persons at that time. A tradition of service to refugees had been inaugurated even earlier by the then Catholic Committee for Refugees which was established in 1937 to help members of religious orders and of the professions flee persecution in Nazi Germany.

In 1975, it was clear that the system used to resettle refugees by the resettlement council needed to be modified once again to handle this new group. Earlier resettlement efforts had utilized established ethnic parishes and fraternal organizations which related to the refugees from northern and eastern Europe and the Caribbean.

No such ethnic Vietnamese, Lao or Cambodian parishes or organizations existed to offer assistance this time. The race, culture, and religion of these new refugees differed greatly from previous refugee populations, and few of the resettlement directors had any experience working with refugees from Southeast Asia. With no direct access to ethnic support, Catholic leaders recognized the need to alter their methods of resettlement, while maintaining the structure of the existing national council.

19,000 Parishes to Help

The council, chaired by the executive director of the Migration and Refugee Services of the U.S. Catholic Conference, considered new approaches and techniques for delivering services to the Southeast Asians. It was true no appropriate ethnic parishes existed, but some 19,000 parishes in every corner of the land offered a built-in network of assistance. Out of this resource developed the concept of the parish sponsorship. Under this plan, a parish, working through its numerous local organizations, would carry responsibility for initial placement and later follow-up care. This approach is proving most effective as resettlement directors working with local parishes develop the proper mix of community resources and social support provided by the parish.

Experience has shown that a number of existing social service programs can be adpated to the needs of Southeast Asians, and the resettlement director often develops grant proposals to accomplish this. Working through the diocesan Catholic Charities or Social Services offices, he can contract for such services as employment counseling, job development, mental health services, homemaker and day care support.

Resettlement Director as Sponsor

In addition, the resettlement director himself sometimes sponsors refugees, especially single men who sometimes have unique needs for counseling and care. The resettlement director also develops individual sponsorships and provides back-up assistance to others — often friends or former employers of refugees — who wish to serve as sponsors. He acts as the conduit for federal and private resettlement funding; establishes a half-way house for temporary shelter pending availability of suitable permanent quarters; develops sources for clothing, furniture, private medical care, counseling, interpreting and translating services, and employment.

The resettlement director, who functions as the coordinator for initial placement, continues to perform the role of counselor and advisor to the refugee and sponsor for months, and sometimes years after arrival. This continuing guidance and advice is essential to any good resettlement program, especially when secondary migration (a phenomenon of all refugee movements) takes refugees to new locations where problems can develop if a continuity of support does not follow. The network of the National Catholic Resettlement Council and its resettlement directors facilitates this continuity of service. □

Donald G. Hohl is assistant director of Migration and Refugee Services for the U.S. Catholic Conference in Washington, D.C.

Sponsorships: *Lutheran Refugee Service*

by Marnie Dawson
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
(Lutheran Council in the USA)

Forty-one refugee families from Indochina have been resettled as a result of the action of one church — Christ Lutheran of San Lorenzo, California.

"A leap of faith" is the explanation of Pastor Earl Johnson. In 1975, after considerable discussion of the problems involved, the church decided to welcome four Vietnamese families.

Inspired by member June Gerlach and her husband Ken, Christ Lutheran went on to sponsor 37 other families and to help other nearby congregations resettle families.

The greatest initial concerns to sponsors are usually cost and how to organize for housing, food, clothing, jobs, schooling, health needs and English language training. The Gerlachs say that money has never been a problem. "Once a family arrives, it 'just comes'," said June Gerlach.

In meeting needs, practice makes perfect. Said Ken Gerlach, "At first I spent two days going through ads for housing and driving around looking for 'For Rent' signs. Now we have contacts and don't need a housing committee."

How do they find jobs? June Gerlach responded, "Through the congregation. Several people now call us to say they want workers."

"In those overcrowded refugee camps they lived on nothing but hope," she continued. "Now they have to learn to start smiling again."

San Lorenzo is a community of 25,000 near Oakland. Such is their reputation that refugees throughout the area now seek the Gerlachs' advice. Said June, "I find it difficult to separate the people we sponsor from those who come from other places for help. I love these people, they are my friends. I see more of them and spend more time with them than I do with anyone else."

Commitment to helping those in need has prompted some 6,000 Lutheran congregations across the United States to welcome more than 30,000 Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian "strangers" since 1975. Refugees are eligible for Medicaid and they may receive public assistance until they are established in jobs.

(For addresses of all voluntary agencies which resettle refugees see the listings at the rear of the World Refugee Survey.) □

The Gerlachs and Pastor Johnson of Christ Lutheran Church, San Lorenzo, California, welcome a family of four Cambodians, latest arrivals for a church which has sponsored 41 refugee families from Indochina.

Sponsorships: *American Council for Nationalities Service*

by Roy Williams
American Council for Nationalities Service

Another type of refugee sponsorship is illustrated by the American Council for Nationalities Service (ACNS) and the 31 privately-supported local agencies it serves. The agencies — most of them "international institutes" — have long been involved with immigration matters and services to the foreign born (see list on inside back cover — Ed.).

The local agency serves as the direct sponsor. Frequently, local families or community groups serve as co-sponsors. ACNS member agencies are strongly based in their communities, with local directors, staff and volunteers who know their areas, and this has played an important role in their ability to resettle refugee families.

Each local agency has professional case workers and aides, including staff members who speak the language of the resettling refugee. The agencies have orientation and English language classes and they assist refugees to obtain housing, medical care and employment.

Like the other major resettlement agencies, ACNS has a staff in Southeast Asia to process refugees for migration. ACNS, whose headquarters is in New York, has responsibility for the program in refugee camps on Indonesian islands, and maintains an office in Singapore.

To sponsor a refugee . . .

Any of the organizations listed in the table on page 21 may assist people in the United States to sponsor a refugee for immigration from Southeast Asia. Agency addresses are found in a list which begins on page 57.

VIVA/Herve Olougnon

The Kowong family are Laotians who fled to Thailand. They were resettled in the United States through American Council for Nationalities Service and its member agency, the International Institute of Connecticut, in Bridgeport. The family has since moved to Queens, New York City. All the adults have jobs, the eldest daughter with the U.S. Catholic Conference in Manhattan.

Cambodia: Famine and Flight

The world in 1979 faced the shocking fact that an entire nation — Cambodia — might starve and die of disease, unless help was given right away.

The plight of Cambodia (also named Kampuchea) was compared by President Carter to The Holocaust, the death of 6 million Jews at the hands of the Nazis.

No one knows exactly how much of the original population of Cambodia is left after 10 years of war, tyranny, genocide, invasion, famine and epidemic disease. Appoximately 8 million lived there in 1970. In 1979 it was estimated that 4 to 5 million still lived — and many of these were barely alive.

Pre-colonial Cambodian civilization reached its peak of regional influence and internal cohesion during the Angkor period (800 A.D.-1400 A.D.). By the mid-Nineteenth Century, Cambodia had been reduced to a vassal state of Thailand and Viet Nam. However, the French Protectorate (1864-1953) impeded further Thai and Vietnamese territorial encroachments, and in the 1950's an independent, neutral Cambodia emerged under Prince Sihanouk.

. . . Response of the public was immediate and generous . . . By the end of the year $15,120,210 was given 27 agencies . . .

Sihanouk's careful balancing of international and domestic political forces was upset by the Viet Nam War: By the mid-1960's Cambodia served as a staging area for North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces, leading to secret United States bombings of the eastern border provinces. Sihanouk was deposed by a coup on March 18, 1970, and a pro-U.S. Khmer Republic led by Marshal Lon Nol was set up. A number of political groups ranging from Sihanoukists to communists subsequently established the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea (GRUNK) and a bloody civil war erupted.

During the following five years, Cambodia was devastated by ground warfare and aerial bombardments; hundreds of thousands of people died. The Lon Nol government, crippled by corruption and military incompetence, was soon confined to the larger towns and cities. Phnom Penh and other cities fell to the Khmer Rouge in April 1975.

After the fall of the Lon Nol government, drastic changes took place in Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk's GRUNK emerged from the war victorious, but power was actually held by the Kampuchean Communist Party and the army which it controlled. All cities and towns were forcibly evacuated, the entire population was forced onto rural agricultural collectives and Cambodia was sealed off from the outside world. The new government renamed the country Democratic Kampuchea.

Communist rule was extremely harsh, regimented and austere. Large numbers of former Lon Nol government officials and soldiers, as well as businessmen, intellectuals and others were executed. In addition, many non-communist members of the wartime coalition were purged. Although it is impossible to obtain accurate figures, it is probable that hundreds of thousands of people were killed. Moreover, the population was further decimated by starvation and disease during the first two years of the new political order.

In April 1976, Sihanouk resigned as head of state and was replaced by Khieu Samphan. Under Prime Minister Pol Pot, schools were closed, money was abolished and most aspects of traditional Khmer culture, such as traditional village life, and observance of the Buddhist religion were eradicated.

By 1978 the food situation in Cambodia appears to have improved somewhat, but Pol Pot's government faced a number of serious security threats. Relations with Viet Nam, already strained in 1975, had been steadily deteriorating. Periodic skirmishing along the border developed into large scale fighting by the end of 1977. On December 31, 1977, Phnom Penh broke relations with Viet Nam. Throughout this period, Democratic Kampuchea developed close trade and military ties with the Peoples Republic of China.

There were a number of reported uprisings, attempted coups and purges in Cambodia during 1978. In one reported revolt, army units in the eastern region of the country rebelled and crossed into Viet Nam, where they joined tens of thousands of refugees who had already fled Pol Pot's rule. The Vietnamese government began recruiting and training "liberation forces" from amongst these exiles.

Extensive fighting with Viet Nam again broke out during Autumn 1978. Finally, on December 25, 1978, the Vietnamese army and forces under the "Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation" launched a mas-

Cambodia *(Continued)*

sive invasion of Cambodia. Phnom Penh, almost all other towns, and major lines of communication were quickly captured.

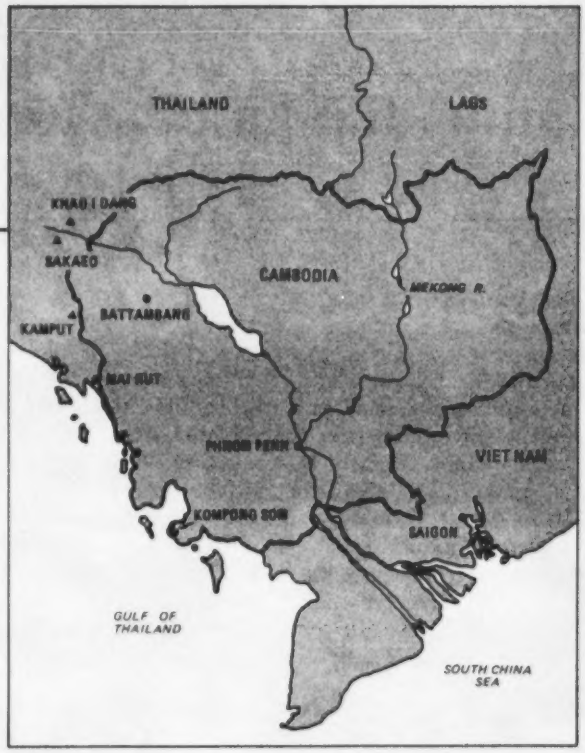
The Pol Pot government fled to the jungles of the mountainous western region after the invasion, and embarked on a guerrilla war. Non-communist Khmer groups also declared their opposition to the Vietnamese invasion, and during 1979 some of them launched guerrilla campaigns along the Thai border. China announced that it would provide logistical support to any group willing to fight the Vietnamese. (Also, in early 1979, China launched a short-term punitive invasion of northern Viet Nam, a move obviously linked to the events in Cambodia).

The Kampuchean Peoples Revolutionary Council government under Heng Samrin was proclaimed in January 1979, with the crucial backing of the Vietnamese military forces and the Soviet bloc. Few other countries have recognized this government; during Autumn 1979 the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to seat the Pol Pot government.

Many of the worst aspects of Pol Pot's rule have been relaxed by the new regime. Dispersed families have been allowed to reunite and village life has also begun to re-emerge. Traditional religious activities are once again permitted. However, the collective structures of the previous government appear to have been retained in modified form.

. . . At the close of 1979
. . . the immediate
threat of mass starvation and death . . .
was being greatly reduced
by collective world action . . .

Heng Samrin's efforts to stabilize Cambodia have been severely hampered by continuing warfare, widespread starvation and disease, and the movement of hundreds of thousands of people to the Thai border region. The transportation and communications network has been almost totally destroyed and trained personnel are scarce. In addition, the Vietnamese-installed government must gain the confidence of a people who traditionally have expressed a strong enmity towards Viet Nam.



In December 1979, the communist authorities based in the west announced that Prime Minister Pol Pot had been replaced by Khieu Samphan, and that Democratic Kampuchea's socialist constitution had been abolished. However, Pol Pot reportedly still holds his posts as commander in chief of the armed forces and secretary general of the Kampuchean Communist Party.

Also during 1979-80, Sihanouk began to tour world capitals to obtain support for an effort to achieve an acceptable negotiated solution to the Cambodian problem. A number of governments began to officially and unofficially withdraw their support of the Pol Pot government. One of the governments to announce derecognition has been Great Britain.

Their country in turmoil, many of Cambodia's people pressed west and north into Thailand. In 1979 the numbers rose each week as the exhausted, sick, starved, trudged on in search of help and safety.

Early in the year, the U.S. embassy in Bangkok had warned that famine might be coming. The U.S. State Department urged international organizations to begin planning. As fighting continued, almost no food was being grown. Satellite photos showed only about 5 per cent of the country's rice paddies were in cultivation. Cambodians were eating seedlings to stay alive — in a land once known as "the rice bowl of Asia." It was estimated 80 to 90 per cent of the children were suffering from extreme malnutrition; malaria, dysentary, intestinal parasites and respiratory diseases were epidemic.

International relief agencies have been helping refugees in Thailand, Malaysia and other Southeast Asian

"Nothing approaches the desolation . . . the disease, starvation, orphans . . . it is all incomprehensible. I have seen nothing like it before, not Bangladesh, not anything."

Western official returning
from Phnom Penh,
Washington Post, August 23, 1979

countries for five years. In early summer, 1979, agencies such as UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), Catholic Relief Services and OXFAM planned to bring food and medical aid to Cambodia.

In late June, Catholic Relief Services began delivering food and supplies to Cambodians along the Thai border, at the invitation of the Royal Thai Government. The Thai government feared the famine in Cambodia could bring thousands of new refugees across the border.

In July UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross began negotiations with the Viet Nam-backed government in Cambodia, headed by Heng Samrin, to gain permission to begin relief operations. These early negotiations were slowed by the legacy of suspicion left by the four years of Cambodia's isolation, reinforced by the Heng Samrin Government's failure to attain recognition from the world community. These sensitivities were exacerbated by the international agencies' determination to help Kampucheans not under Phnom Penh's control, specifically children, mothers and other civilians under Khmer Rouge control in northwestern areas of the country close to the Thai border.

UNICEF and ICRC were able to start weekly flights to Phnom Penh, the capital, on August 9. Each planeload of 40 tons of supplementary food and medical supplies was moved on to the slowly reviving orphanages and medical institutions. However it took months of negotiations before they were able to begin full scale operation, with sea-borne shipments, in October.

British-based OXFAM mounted a joint relief flight with the French Medical Committee to Aid the Cambodian People to Phnom Penh August 26 and began negotiations for an aid program. It wasn't until October, however, that the Heng Samrin authorities permitted a full-scale relief program by an OXFAM-led international consortium of non-governmental relief agencies. The regime outlined conditions; one precluded OXFAM from providing aid to the Pol Pot-occupied territories along the Thai border.

Large-scale aid efforts to Cambodia from Western countries began in mid-October. U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and UNICEF Director Henry R. Labouisse announced a joint relief operation by UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross and made an international appeal for support. UNICEF and ICRC released a projected six-month budget of $111 million. They estimated that 165,000 tons of food and additional amounts of medical and relief supplies would be needed.

On October 24, President Carter announced a U.S. pledge of $69 million, most of which was to be channeled through UNICEF/ICRC and the World Food Program. The U.S. share of the world effort was later authorized up to $106 million by various acts of Congress and the Administration.

In early November UNICEF, ICRC and WFP expanded their joint relief budget projection to $251 million for a full year's operation and a further $60 million was sought by UNHCR for help to Cambodian refugees in Thailand. The UNHCR planned holding centers for the hundreds of thousands who had fled to the Thai border. At an international pledging conference held at the U.N., $210 million was pledged by participating member nations. Some was directed to the UNICEF/ICRC/WFP program with the remainder to be channeled through other agencies or direct aid.

Nations pledge $210 million at UN conferences in early November . . . UNHCR builds centers in Thailand

During the spring and summer, the Thai government considered new arrivals from Cambodia to be "illegal entrants." In June, Thailand forced 42,000 Cambodian refugees back over the border. On October 19, however, the Thai Prime Minister reversed his government's previous approach, and announced an "open door" policy, pledging that Thailand would receive all Cambodians seeking refuge. On November 1, the Thai government requested UNHCR assistance in providing care for the more than 300,000 Cambodians then in Thailand. UNHCR began work on emergency holding centers.

It must be noted, however, that the Cambodians who arrived in Thailand during this period were not accorded full refugee status. Unlike their fellow Khmer in "first asylum" refugee camps who fled Cambodia a few years before, the recent arrivals were not assured that they would not be returned to their homeland, and were not automatically considered candidates for resettlement in other countries. Their future remains uncertain.

Cambodia *(Continued)*

By late October, a national campaign to raise U.S. public awareness of the scope and nature of the Cambodians' plight, and to garner support for relief activities, was in full swing. A number of agencies began to raise funds, either for one of the relief efforts already underway or for their own. The response from the American public was immediate and generous. By the end of the year, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service (ACVAFS) reported that 27 U.S. agencies* had raised an aggregate total of $15,120,210.

A toll-free information hotline was set up to handle public inquiries, offers of monetary and commodity donations, and volunteer assistance. Many of these agencies had formed coalitions or alliances to coordinate deliveries or to establish arrangements with the government in Phnom Penh or Thai authorities. Church World Service initiated a U.S. consortium — called Action for Relief and Rehabilitation in Kampuchea (ARRK) — to coordinate its members' relief activities through an office in Phnom Penh. Members of ARRK included Church World Service, CARE, YMCA-International Division, Heifer Project International, Lutheran World Relief and Meals for Millions/Freedom from Hunger Foundation.

At the U.S. State Department a Kampuchea Working Group was created, with representatives of various government departments as well as from the American Council of Voluntary Agencies. This Working Group was to aid in the coordination of government activities and to provide the public with information.

A November visit by Rosalynn Carter to the Thai holding centers sparked White House initiatives to encourage private and public support.

In December, a Cambodia Crisis Center was formed at the initiative of Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame and chairman of the Overseas Development Council. It joins national and international relief agencies and the federal government, to provide information, act as a public clearinghouse, and to mobilize support for voluntary agency efforts.

*American Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, American Red Cross, American Refugee Committee, Assemblies of God, Baptist World Alliance, CARE, Catholic Relief Services-USCC, Church World Service, Direct Relief Foundation, Food for the Hungry International, Holt International Children's Services, International Human Assistance Programs, International Rescue Committee, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, MAP International, Mennonite Central Committee, Oxfam-America, Save the Children Federation, Seventh-Day Adventist World Service, Synagogue Council of America, U.S. Committee for UNICEF, Wisconsin Indochina Refugee Relief Program, World Concern, World Relief, World Vision Relief Organization, YMCA-International Division.

UNICEF/Jacques Dassis

Intravenous feeding combats malnutrition in Cambodian boy, at camp on Thai border.

The World Food Program assumed responsibility for all food shipments by UNICEF/ICRC and several individual donor countries. By the end of 1979, WFP reported food shipments totaling about 70,000 metric tons. Private U.S. relief agencies and the OXFAM-led consortium had delivered an additional 17,000 metric tons of food to Cambodia by December 1979.

Accompanying the food were deliveries of medical supplies and equipment, agricultural tools, clothes, cooking utensils, blankets, industrial supplies, seeds (rice, maize and vegetable) and transportation equipment. OXFAM had over 70 trucks in Cambodia by the end of the year, as well as forklifts and land rovers. UNICEF/ICRC had sent in 225 trucks and nine cranes by the end of 1979. It was reported that the U.S.S.R. had supplied another 200 to 250 trucks by the end of the year.

Long-term efforts toward eventual reconstruction and rehabilitation were also begun. OXFAM, in particular, focused its efforts on rebuilding local industry and agriculture, and on general reconstruction. Relief

by OXFAM included cotton yarn for textile mills, aluminum sulfate for water purification and nylon twine for fishing nets.

Distribution of food and supplies within Cambodia remained a major problem through the end of the year. In December there were numerous reports that thousands of tons of food and some supplies were stockpiled in warehouses at the ports of Kompong Som and Phnom Penh. On December 6, President Carter issued a statement, based on U.S. State Department and intelligence reports, which voiced the suspicion that Viet Nam and the Heng Samrin government may have been deliberately blocking food and aid to the Cambodian populace.

An editorial appearing in *The Economist* (Dec. 22, 1979) stated succinctly the current lines of thought concerning the stockpiling at that time:

> . . . There are three possible explanations. One is that the Vietnamese and their Cambodian clients are genuinely trying but are not up to the job, and would rather let a lot of Cambodians starve than lose face by allowing the aid agencies to take over the distribution. But the American government (and many of the Cambodian refugees who have recently poured into Thailand) do not accept this incompetence theory. So the second explanation is that Viet Nam is deliberately blocking the distribution of food as a means of applying pressure to the population of occupied Cambodia. After all, the Vietnamese army has trucks and drivers enough to shift food around the country (indeed, the Viet Namese at one point offered to rent trucks to the aid agencies).
>
> The third possibility, which is gaining credence among aid officials, is that Viet Nam is stockpiling the food against a possible shortage next summer in case the dry-season harvest in April-May fails. Things are not too bad right now, so this theory goes: a small wet-rice harvest has just been got in; perhaps as much as a fifth of Cambodia's population has fled to Thailand and is being fed there; and a lot of aid was sent in by Russia and Viet Nam before the western operation started.
>
> These theories are not mutually exclusive; the truth may well contain elements of all three . . .

As the year ended, debate continued over reasons for distribution difficulties. Certainly distribution was hampered by railroads in poor repair, roads that were at times impassable, and continued fighting between the Vietnamese troops and Pol Pot's forces. The relief agencies were allowed only a limited number of personnel in the country (UNICEF/ICRC had 16 people in Phnom Penh at the end of the year), and monitoring of actual distribution of supplies was sporadic at best.

Distribution was in the hands of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and its distribution reports were not generally verifiable by the relief agencies themselves. A number of relief agency officials who visited Cambodia in late November and in December, however, reported witnessing some food distribution and also noted the presence of Russian corn and Vietnamese rice.

Most of these agency representatives were allowed to travel a well-beaten route along the main highways (routes #5 and #6) to areas in the northwest of the country — areas that had been "stabilized" by Vietnamese forces. In late December UNICEF/ICRC and OXFAM reported that the Phnom Penh government was allowing their monitors increased access to distribution convoys.

Thailand and the Border Area

Relief agencies worked through the summer and fall, aiding Cambodians who had fled to the Thai border. During the summer it was estimated that about 50,000 Khmer refugees were seeking food and safety in Thailand. By mid-November, after the start of the Thai government's "open door" policy, the Khmer population in Thailand swelled to about 380,000. By the year's end, an estimated 900,000 Cambodians were

UN/J.K. Isaac

A Thai soldier carries a Cambodian refugee child at a crowded camp near Klong Yai, Thailand.

massed at the Thai border in holding centers established by the government and the UNHCR, in makeshift camps in Thailand, in enclaves straddling the border, and in areas a few miles inside Cambodia.

In the early months agencies were allowed only to distribute food and supplies at the Thai border to Cambodians who carried the aid back across the border. The agencies could not monitor distribution inside Cambodia. By the end of the year, however, Catholic Relief Services reported that it was not only allowed to distribute food and supplies at the border, but

Centers at Thai border shelter 110,000... many voluntary agencies join aid effort

could at times cross into Cambodia to reach people encamped a few miles from the immediate border area. All relief convoys to the border were accompanied by Royal Thai troops.

During November, at the request of the government, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees undertook to aid authorities in setting up facilities inside Thailand to feed, house and provide medical aid to the tens of thousands of Cambodians encamped along the border. By the end of December holding centers had been established for this purpose at Sa Kaeo, Khao I Dang and Kamput, and several others were being planned or under construction (at Mai Rut, Kab Cherng and Chonburi — as well as an additional holding center adjacent to the one at Sa Kaeo). At the close of 1979 about 110,000 people were living in those centers.

UNICEF/ICRC and a sizeable number of voluntary agencies joined in the relief effort at the holding centers, including Catholic Relief Services, CARE, International Rescue Committee, World Vision International, American Refugee Committee, World Relief, Seventh-Day Adventist World Service, and Save the Children Federation.

The health conditions of the people in the holding centers improved considerably by the end of the year. Although overcrowding was a problem (particularly at Sa Kaeo), and medical teams were greatly overworked

To help save Cambodians . . .

Private agencies soliciting contributions for aid to Cambodia and Thailand have made this promise: "If you join other Americans trying to save the Cambodians from extinction, we promise that your donation will be used for help that's going to get through."

Agencies operating in the area and their addresses are:

UNICEF
U. S. Committee for UNICEF
331 E. 38th Street
New York, NY 10016

American Red Cross
National Headquarters
17th and D Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Oxfam-America
302 Columbus Avenue
Boston, MA 02116

UNHCR
United Nations High
Commissioner for Refugees
United Nations Bldg., 3rd Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017

Church World Service
(U.S. affiliate of the
World Council of Churches)
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027

Catholic Relief Services
1011 First Avenue
New York, NY 10022

International Rescue Committee
386 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10016

CARE, Inc.
660 First Avenue
New York, NY 10016

World Vision International
919 West Huntington Drive
Monrovia, CA 91016

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Seventh-Day Adventist World Service, Inc.
6840 Eastern Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Food for the Hungry International
3331 North Hayden Road,
Suite #1
Scottsdale, Arizona 85251

CAMA
The Christian and
Missionary Alliance
Division of Overseas Ministries
350 North Highland Avenue
Nyack, NY 10960

Medical Personnel

A national clearinghouse has been established for medical personnel who wish to serve Cambodian refugees in Thailand. For more information, contact:

Cambodian Refugee Health Clearinghouse, Coordinator: Peggy Cronyn, c/o National Council for International Health, 2121 Virginia Ave., N.W., Suite 302, Washington, D.C. 20037; (202) 298-5901 (Phones open 24 hours a day).

More Information

For up-to-date information about the situation in Cambodia and what you can do to help, contact:

Cambodia Crisis Center
1523 L St., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 347-4910

and understaffed, discernable signs of hope were evident.

By December the relief agencies and the Thai Ministry of Health were discussing the need to move beyond "curative" medical care and to develop community outreach programs that would promote preventive health measures that the Cambodians could continue in years to come — after the emergency medical relief operations had ended.

The Thai Ministry of Health was given principal responsibility for refugee assistance, and a subcommittee on health was established by the Thai Ministry in conjunction with the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The ICRC was responsible for deployment of medical personnel. At the end of the year, ICRC reported that about 775 medical personnel were working in the holding centers and field units at the Thai border.

• • •

Most of the encampments on the Cambodian side of the border were under the control of various factions of the Khmer Serei (Free Khmer) or, to a lesser extent, Pol Pot forces.

Unloading rice in Phnom Penh port, for starving Cambodians.

In early December, it was discovered that most of the estimated 250,000 people in the border encampments near the Thai town of Aranyaprathet — under the control of "Prince" Norodom Soryavong and other scattered leaders — were being forceably prevented from leaving those camps and entering the holding centers in Thailand. The Khmer Serei leaders claimed they needed to retain a civilian population base in order to be considered a credible governing force in Cambodia. In a move to free those who wanted to enter Thailand, the Thai military command ordered the temporary cessation of all relief supplies except water to these encampments. The order was rescinded after five days, when the Khmer Serei leadership promised to allow the people to leave. Additional refugees from these encampments did enter the Thai holding centers, although not to the extent that the Thai government and relief agencies had hoped.

Conclusion

While there was continuing concern over the logistics and degree of distribution within Cambodian territory by the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin government, the end of 1979 saw the continuation of a massive aid effort in Cambodia and Thailand. While unspecified amounts of aid from Eastern bloc countries were given, the response from the Western countries has been extraordinary and at nearly unprecedented levels in the history of world disaster relief. At the close of 1979 the fate of the Cambodian nation and the control of its territory remained uncertain, but the immediate threat of mass starvation and death by epidemic disease was being greatly reduced by collective world action.

Seed Rice Eaten

In March, 1980, U.N. agencies reported 30,000 tons of rice seed was urgently needed to insure a harvest in Cambodia in 1980, since the seed rice normally saved had been eaten by starving people. The United Nations sought commitments from member nations for $262 million to feed Cambodia for the rest of the year. This sum is an addition to $210 million pledged in November, 1979.—Ed.

This article was prepared by Elinor Koch of the staff of Cambodia Crisis Center, 1523 "L" St. NW, Washingon, D.C. 20005.

A Note About Statistics *(on pages 33 and 34)*

The World Refugee Survey, published annually by the United States Committee for Refugees since 1964, reports the number of refugees and displaced persons. The Survey describes why some took the hard step of leaving home in search of freedom, and others were swept from home, for example by civil strife.

The statistics on a population so large and so fluid cannot be accurate to the last digit. Furthermore there are other limits in the search for accuracy.

The definition of "refugee" most used by governments and international agencies is that worked out three decades ago by the United Nations and applied by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The principal elements of this definition* are that the person is outside his or her country of origin and has a "well-founded" fear of persecution if he or she returns.

In certain instances the United Nations also assists "displaced persons" who have been forced to move within their own country, but have not crossed a national frontier. For example, UNHCR helps displaced people within Zaire who were forced by internal fighting to leave home, and lists them as "internally displaced."

The editors of the World Refugee Survey have tried to be as inclusive as possible in totaling refugees and displaced persons. Most of the figures come from the Office of the UN High Commissioner, directly or indirectly. It should be noted that the UN may provide help only when requested to do so by a national government; sometimes governments do not invite the UN to assist. At times, refugees themselves may fear consequences if they register, and decide not to do so. For these reasons the figures here are probably on the conservative side.

UNHCR continues to count as refugees many people who have resettled in a third country, even though their lives may be well established. Thus, thousands of Cubans are shown as "refugees" in the United States, despite the fact that most of them have been living in the United States for years and require no further assistance as refugees.

*The U.N. convention on the status of refugees defines a refugee as any person who "... owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; to who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

The editors of the Survey estimate that approximately 3 million of the 16 million refugees reported no longer need assistance though, technically, they are still refugees.

Accurate comparison of totals from one year to the next is made difficult by the estimates necessary to include certain large populations such as the displaced in war-torn Cambodia and the tribes scattered by Ethiopia's military action in the Ogaden.

1964 was the first year in which the U.S. Committee for Refugees published an annual survey. In that year the total was just under 8 million. Year by year, it increased, rising sharply as the war escalated in Viet Nam and as strife swept parts of Asia, Africa and South America. By 1967 the total had doubled, to 16 million, and it reached a peak of 17.5 million in 1970. The low point since then was 11 million in 1976.

No responsible source predicts a decrease in 1980. The number of refugees fleeing Afghanistan, into Pakistan, rose quickly at the start of the year. The flow of people from the Ethiopian desert into Somalia continues. And at any moment it was expected that the totals of "boat people" leaving Viet Nam might increase. The prediction for 1980 thus is that more assistance, not less, will be needed than in 1979, a year which saw a sharp rise in the numbers in need. □

Statistics' Sources "On Request"

World Refugee Survey has been edited for the general reader. The editors decided to omit a column listing "source" of the figures in statistical tables. For those who are interested in that information, copies of the tables, with the sources on each line, may be obtained without charge from: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 20 West 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018.

1980 World Refugee Statistics

1980 REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS	
Africa	4,045,200
Asia	7,292,500
Europe	229,750
Latin America	1,085,300
Middle East	3,312,500
Worldwide Total	**15,965,250**

Africa

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN / COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER OF REFUGEES[1]
From ANGOLA	
Botswana	7,000
Namibia	4,000
Zaire	141,000[2]
Zambia	26,000
From BURUNDI	
Rwanda	8,500
Tanzania	135,000
Zaire	11,000
From CHAD	
Cameroon, Niger, Sudan	9,000
From EQUATORIAL GUINEA	
Cameroon	30,000
Gabon	80,000
Spain	5,000
From ETHIOPIA	
Djibouti	50,000
Kenya	1,500
Somalia	1,174,300[3]
Sudan	303,000
Internally displaced[4]	850,000
From LESOTHO	
Botswana	150
From NAMIBIA	
Angola	30,000
Botswana	600
Zambia	5,500
From RWANDA	
Burundi	50,000
Tanzania	25,000
Uganda	78,000
Zaire	22,000
From WESTERN SAHARA	
Algeria	50,000
From SOUTH AFRICA	
Angola	1,000
Botswana	1,000
Lesotho	1,000
Swaziland	3,700
Tanzania	100
Zambia	150
From SUDAN	
Ethiopia	11,000
From TANZANIA	
Internally displaced[5]	40,000
From UGANDA	
Canada	7,000
Kenya	5,000
Sudan	35,000
Tanzania	8,000
United Kingdom	30,000
Zaire	20,000
From ZAIRE	
Angola	30,000
Sudan	5,000
Uganda	34,000
From ZIMBABWE[6]	
Botswana	23,000
Kenya	200
Mozambique	150,000
Tanzania	500
Zambia	43,000
Internally displaced	500,000
Africa Subtotal	**4,045,200**

[1] Statistics are current as of January 1, 1980 when possible, or are based on the latest figure available in the second half of 1979.

[2] Of this total, 100,000 are from Angola and 41,000 are from Cabinda.

[3] 474,300 are in refugee camps and 700,000 outside camps in surrounding area.

[4] Displaced from the Ogaden region to the Bale and Sidamo regions.

[5] Displaced from the Kagera River area because of fighting between Tanzania and Uganda in late 1978 and early 1979.

[6] Nearly all refugees from Zimbabwe returned early in 1980.

Asia

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN / COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER OF REFUGEES[1]
From AFGHANISTAN	
Iran	300,000
Pakistan	402,100
From CHINA (People's Republic of China)	
Hong Kong, Macao, U.S.A.	183,500
From EAST TIMOR/ INDONESIA	
Australia	200
Internally displaced	200,000
From INDOCHINA	
Australia	27,150
Austria	350
Belgium	1,400
Brazil	50
Canada	27,200
China	230,000
Denmark	600
France	57,700
Germany (FRG)	8,900
Hong Kong	300
Hong Kong, Macao[2]	65,900
Indonesia[2]	43,500
Israel	200
Italy	350
Japan	50
Malaysia	2,300
Malaysia[2]	42,300
Netherlands	600
Norway	900
Philippines[2]	6,500
Singapore, Korea, Taiwan[2]	3,400
Sweden	250
Switzerland	3,000
Thailand[2]	164,550[3]
United Kingdom	4,750
U.S.A.	260,400
Viet Nam[2]	30,000
Internally displaced Cambodians	4,000,000
Internally displaced Laotians	1,000,000
Indochina Subtotal	**5,982,600**
From PAKISTAN	
Bangladesh	55,000
From PHILIPPINES	
Malaysia	90,000
From TIBET/CHINA	
Canada	250
India, Nepal, Bhutan	76,200
Switzerland	1,250
U.S.A.	200
Western Europe, Japan	200
From WEST IRIAN/ INDONESIA	
Papua New Guinea	1,000
Asia Subtotal	**7,292,500**

[1] Statistics are current as of January 1, 1980 when possible, or are based on the latest figure available in the second half of 1979.

[2] Refugees in camps.

[3] Does not include Cambodians in camps along the Thai-Cambodian border. (See special article on Cambodia — Ed.)

(Continued on Next Page)

1980 World Refugee Statistics *(Continued)*

Europe

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF REFUGEES[1]
COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	
From BULGARIA	
Turkey[2]	60,000
U.S.A.	700
From CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Austria	600
Germany (FRG)[3]	850
Germany (FRG)[4]	1,050
Italy	100
United Kingdom	2,000
U.S.A.	700
Western Europe	100
From GERMANY (German Democratic Republic)	
Germany (FRG)	12,100
From HUNGARY	
Austria	650
Germany (FRG)	900
Germany (FRG)[4]	350
Italy	300
United Kingdom	22,000
U.S.A.	2,300
Western Europe	150
From POLAND	
Austria	1,150
Germany (FRG)	950
Germany (FRG)[4]	36,250
Italy	150
U.S.A.	2,400
Western Europe	400
From ROMANIA	
Germany (FRG)[4]	9,650
U.S.A.	4,850
From U.S.S.R.	
Australia[5]	3,550
Canada[5]	1,750
Germany (FRG)[4]	7,250
Israel[5]	19,000
U.S.A.[5]	30,000
U.S.A.[6]	4,750
From YUGOSLAVIA	
Germany (FRG)[4]	200
From EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	
Greece	2,600
Europe Subtotal	**229,750**

[1]Statistics are current as of January 1, 1980 when possible, or are based on the latest figure available in the second half of 1979. In several instances the total represents migration for four or five years in the 1970's.

[2]Ethnic Turks.

[3]Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). All statistics for Germany are for 1979 only.

[4]Ethnic Germans.

[5]Soviet Jews.

[6]Ethnic Armenians.

Latin America

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF REFUGEES[1]
COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	
From ARGENTINA	
Austria	200
Brazil	30,000
Canada	500
Colombia	200
Ecuador	400
France	200
Israel	300
Italy	100,000
Mexico	5,000
Netherlands	150
New Zealand	100
Spain	95,000
Sweden	650
Switzerland	100
United Kingdom	150
U.S.A.	100
Venezuela	2,000
From BRAZIL	
France	150
Netherlands	100
Sweden	450
Switzerland	50
From CHILE	
Algeria	2,000
Argentina	20,000
Australia	250
Austria	400
Belgium	600
Bolivia	100
Canada	7,000
Colombia	200
Costa Rica	150
Cuba	450
Denmark	600
Finland	150
France	1,900
Germany (GDR)	450
Germany (FRG)	2,500
Honduras	100
Hungary	100
Italy	850
Mexico	900
Netherlands	800
Norway	350
Panama	1,000
Peru	50
Romania	1,000
Spain	100
Switzerland	550
United Kingdom	1,750
U.S.A.	1,300
U.S.S.R	50
Venezuela	30,000
From CUBA	
Spain	2,000
U.S.A.	665,050
Venezuela	20,000
From EL SALVADOR	
Costa Rica	300
From HAITI[2]	
Bahamas	1,000
Canada	2,000
Costa Rica	50
Dominican Republic	30,000
U.S.A.	8,000
From NICARAGUA	
Costa Rica	25,000
El Salvador	1,100
Honduras	13,000
Panama	800
U.S.A.	350
From unspecified Latin American countries	
Argentina	5,000
Ecuador	200
Latin American Subtotal	**1,085,300**

[1]Statistics are current as of January 1, 1980 when possible, or are based on the latest figure available in the second half of 1979.

[2]Figures on the number of Haitians in the countries concerned are substantially higher. Numbers here reflect a proportion cited by observers as "probably political refugees."

Middle East

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF REFUGEES[1]
COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	
From CYPRUS	
United Kingdom	10,000
Internally displaced[2]	193,450
From IRAQ	
Austria	100
Iran	30,000
U.S.A.	700
Internally displaced	300,000
From LEBANON	
United Kingdom	3,000
Internally displaced	1,000,000
From PALESTINE	
East Jordan	682,550
Gaza Strip	354,100
Lebanon	211,900
Syria	198,450
West Bank	310,250
Palestine Subtotal	**1,757,250**
From YEMEN (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen)	
Oman	3,000
Yemen (Arab Republic of Yemen)	15,000
Middle East Subtotal	**3,312,500**

[1]Statistics are current as of January 1, 1980 when possible, or are based on the latest figure available in the second half of 1979.

[2]155,500 are Greek Cypriots and 700 are Maronite Cypriots in the south; 37,250 are Turkish Cypriots in the north.

(Refugee totals have been rounded off to the nearest 50. No figure is available on the number of "internally displaced" people in Viet Nam. — Ed.)

Refugees Leave Soviet Union

by Bruce Leimsidor
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS)

The past few years have seen a marked escalation of officially sponsored and fostered anti-Semitic campaigns in the Soviet Union. While popular anti-Semitism has long been a problem in the USSR, in 1968 the Soviet Union launched a specific campaign of defamation and of gradual but systematic exclusion of Jews from important positions in industry and educational institutions.

This situation has been gaining momentum ever since 1968, and in the past three years it has been exceedingly difficult for Jewish students to gain entry into any of the major educational institutions in the Soviet Union. While cases of physical harassment of Jews are widespread, it is primarily the understanding of a part of the Jewish population that they have little future in the USSR in terms of education, job opportunities and social integration that has led many of them to seek exit from that country.

Roadblocks to Emigration

While the Soviet Union does not have a free emigration policy, it has responded to some extent to international pressure, and has allowed an increasing number of Soviet Jews to emigrate. As a signer of the Helsinki Accords, the Soviet Union has allowed Jews to leave the Soviet Union for purposes of family reunion. Once out of the Soviet Union and in Vienna, the first transit point for Jewish refugees from the USSR in the West, approximately 65 per cent of the Soviet Jews opt for immigration to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; the remaining 35 per cent proceed to Israel.

In order to be able to leave by this route, the refugees must undergo an expensive, lengthy and frequently humiliating process. They must ask permission to leave from parents and employers, which generally results in being fired and some times in denunciations at public meetings. Frequently pressure is placed upon other family members who have not applied for exit. The potential refugee also must prove that he or she has no outstanding debts, and in many cities this proof entails getting written statements from all retail establishments in the city. The individual must take these risks without any assurance that he or she will, in fact, be permitted to leave. After permission is given to leave for family reunion in Israel, the refugee must renounce Soviet citizenship, a process which is expensive and cuts off any possibility of return.

Practically the only way that a Jew can leave the Soviet Union is by claiming desire for reunion with family in Israel. The ability of the refugees to exercise the option of going to countries other than Israel is a result of the strong position taken by the American Government and the Jewish community that refugees fleeing from oppression must have the freedom to immigrate to any country which is open to them.

This freedom of choice is also a condition established by the Austrian Government, under which people are permitted to transit that country while existing the USSR. Of that 65 per cent opting for resettlement in countries other than Israel, approximately 85 per cent choose immigration to the United States, with 7-10 per cent going to Australia, 5-7 per cent to Canada,

Victims of discrimination, 30,000 Soviet Jews resettle in U.S. in 1979

and small numbers to New Zealand and countries in Western Europe.

Those Soviet Jews opting for immigration to countries other than Israel are moved from Vienna to Rome and processed for immigration by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS). This agency is also responsible for arranging for resettlement of the refugees in countries of destination. While undergoing processing in Rome, the refugees are given care and maintenance, medical care, and receive social services through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Funds for their care and maintenance and medical services are available from the U.S. Government through the U.S. refugee program.

It should be noted that from 3-5 per cent of those people leaving the Soviet Union as Jews are, in fact, not Jews, although they qualify for immigration to the United States and other countries in the West as refugees for reasons of political persecution. The non-Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union, in most cases, prefer to be processed by non-sectarian refugee agencies or agencies representing their own faith.

Bruce Leimsidor is the senior assistant to the executive vice president of HIAS, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, whose staff he joined in 1974. Mr. Leimsidor has served on the faculties of Indiana University and Oberlin College and has advanced degrees from Princeton University.

Refugees from USSR *(Continued)*

The resettlement of Soviet Jews in the United States is funded in large measure by private voluntary sources stemming almost exclusively from the organized American Jewish community. While the program has been able to benefit from a Federal grant initiated in 1978 to assist in the resettlement of non-Indochinese and non-Cuban refugees in the United States, the American Jewish communities report that private funds still account for almost two-thirds of the cost of resettling Soviet Jews in this country.

Adjustment in U.S.

The Soviet Jewish resettlement programs in the United States differ from many other refugee programs in that a growing percentage of the oncoming refugees already have close family in the United States. Because substantial numbers of Soviet Jews have been arriving in the United States since 1974, there is a sizable base population of resettled refugees in this country and currently almost 50 per cent of the incoming refugee population have members of their immediate family already here. An additional 40 per cent have members of their extended family or close friends in the United States. Close family members, who are counseled and work with the professionalr esettlement agencies in the absorption process, are an invaluable asset to the incoming refugee.

However, the most distinctive aspect of this migration may well be the high educational level of both men and women family members. Of those refugees of working age, approximately 40 per cent have university educations. Many of these are extremely skilled professionals who were able to receive their training before the escalation of anti-Semitic practices in Soviet university admissions.

The high percentage of educated people in this migration is a product also of the advanced attitudes towards education of women in the USSR. In previous migrations, such as those after World War II from Germany and central Europe, the husband may have been an accomplished professional but the wife tended to be a housewife. In the Soviet Jewish family, on the other hand, quite frequently both husband and wife hold university degrees. In many cases the woman is more educated and accomplished than her husband.

The majority of Soviet Jews who have arrived in the United States have made a good financial and vocational adjustment. The most highly qualified people have had little trouble finding work in their fields and are, in fact, actively recruited by certain employers. The most successful have been mathematicians, physicists and other people in the pure and applied sciences. The musicians also have been quite successful, especially the string players. Almost every major orchestra in the United States now has at least one, and frequently more than one, Soviet Jewish violinist, violist or cellist.

The well-educated but somewhat less qualified people have also made a very good adjustment in spite of frequently having to make changes in vocational orientation. Many work categories in the Soviet Union do not have direct equivalence in the United States. Refugees with such problems have been primarily by the Jewish vocational services and specialized agencies to explore skills and training to re-define their professions in American terms.

While the vocational adjustment of the blue collar workers in the refugee population has also been successful, this group has, surprisingly enough, presented more challenges to the resettlement agencies and vocational services than would have been expected. Although a lower level of English language proficiency is necessary for blue collar workers to enter the work force than is necessary for professionals, the blue collar worker generally requires a more carefully monitored introduction into the American work force than does his white collar counterpart. There is a much greater difference between the Soviet and the American workshop on the blue collar level than there is on the professional level. Soviet blue collar workers are geared to production and levels of quality control somewhat below American standards.

It is projected that the numbers of Soviet Jews coming to the United States in 1980 will equal and the approximately 30,00 who arrived n 1979. In spite of the serious obstacles Soviet officials place in their paths, large numbers of Jews in the Soviet Union are determined to leave. The Soviet government over the last few years has been responding to international pressure to grant more and more of them exit permission and it is hoped that this trend will continue. Moreover, as the base population of Soviet Jews already in this country continues to rise, the ex-refugees have begun to assume a share of the responsibility for the resettlement of their kin and countrymen. □

ICEM: Moving Refugees to New Homes

An essential role in resettling refugees is assumed by ICEM, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, which in 1979 moved the largest total in its history.

Airplanes chartered by ICEM ("ice-'em") take off from so many areas of the globe, with refugees and other migrants, that the organization has considered striking the "European" from its name.

Since its beginning in 1952 the agency has provided emigration processing and transportation for 2.6 million people. Refugees made up the largest share — 1.6 million. The other 1 million took part in migration programs which help developing countries with new skilled people at the same time reducing congestion in lands they leave.

Indochina Numbers Tripled in '79

In 1979 ICEM was called upon to meet the challenge of moving refugees on a vastly increased scale — most of them from Southeast Asia. Director James L. Carlin noted that the original forecast for 1979 was 80,000 to be resettled. Successively, as refugees poured out of Indochina, the 1979 movement target was increased to 120,000, to 210,000 and finally 235,000 — triple the original estimate. The budget was at an all-time top of $115 million. In many programs, refugees and migrants eventually repay part of the cost of their passage.

1979 was not the first year that ICEM has stretched itself to meet an international emergency. Its emigration expertise and transportation network were put to work in 1956 for refugees from Hungary and in 1968 for those fleeing Czechoslovakia. ICEM was also there when needed to move thousands of Asians expelled in 1972 from Uganda and 28,000 who fled from Latin America to resettlement countries.

In 1979 the resettlement total moved by ICEM from Southeast Asia was 160,000. Second largest group was 56,000 from Eastern Europe, principally Jews from the USSR, to new homes in the United States, Israel, western Europe and other areas. Other movements organized by ICEM included 2,500 from Cuba to Spain.

Responding to the famine in Kampuchea (Cambodia), ICEM provided cargo space in the empty planes it was sending to pick up refugees in Southeast Asia, so that relief agencies could speed food and medical supplies.

Vietnamese family arrives in Zurich, Switzerland, for resettlement, after ICEM flight from refugee camp in Malaysia.

ICEM Helps Find Needed Skills

In conjunction with its resettlement work the organization has assisted many countries in finding and attracting skilled professionals and tradespeople, needed to boost education, industry and agriculture in overseas lands.

Mr. Carlin, formerly with the U.S. Department of State refugee program office, was named ICEM director in March 1979. He heads a staff of 30 nationalities, with headquarters in Geneva and missions, offices and representatives in 34 countries of the world.

Africa: Millions in Distress

By C. Payne Lucas
Executive Director, AFRICARE

The number of refugees in Africa today is generally acknowledged to be in excess of three million people. No other region of the world has more of its population in distress.

The seriousness of the problem is certainly understated by the official figures which are based on a tally of refugees registered, excluding estimates of those who are missing or displaced within their homeland.

The situation is much more complex than one in which some nations are generating refugees while others are giving them asylum. Often a nation is both a source of conditions causing citizens to flee and a recipient of exiles from nearby nations.

Besides geographical proximity, factors of ethnicity and religion usually account for this paradox. The 600 ethnic groups which comprise the more than 40 nations on the African continent are often split by national boundaries into minorities within several adjoining states, each unit becoming a magnet for fleeing kinsfolk when trouble arises next door. Occasionally tribal affiliation has determined religious commitment, adding a new dimension to unstable relations among the ethnic groups.

There are many categories of refugees on the African continent, but often the circumstances which force or prod citizens to leave their homeland are multiple and overlapping.

One clearly recognizable group of refugees, however, is composed of those who wish to escape racial oppression. For example, the urban blacks who left the Republic of South Africa in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto student riots were activists facing detention or imprisonment for opposition to white minority rule.

More numerous, at the present time, are the victims of such repressive African regimes as those recently removed in Uganda and Equatorial Guinea. Idi Amin now scattered to Mozambique, Botswana, and Zambia represent but a small portion of the total population affected by groups competing for political supremacy and Macias Nguena Biyogo, both gaining power in 1971 and both losing it in 1979, committed offenses so outrageous that they attracted world-wide condemnation.

C. Payne Lucas, formerly an administrator of U.S. programs in Africa, heads AFRICARE. The organization was founded in 1971 by Africans and Americans to aid Africans in self-development. In conducts health, rural development, agriculture and water resources projects. Address: 1601 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

A broad category of refugees which often encompasses those loyal to opposing forces is that large body of citizens uprooted by liberation struggles, especially in southern Africa. The quarter million Zimbabweans in that war-torn land. In some cases, as in Angola, liberation efforts degenerated into civil war, adding even more chaos and misery to already deplorable conditions. Angola further illustrates how ideological divisions can exacerbate the situation.

International conflicts provide yet another source of homeless Africans whose survival depends upon the good will of host governments, international agencies, and private voluntary organizations. The continuing dispute of Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogaden region in the Horn of Africa has generated several hundred thousand refugees in 1979, mostly ethnic Somalis.

A final class of refugees is comprised of those citizens who are singled out for economic and political discrimination, physical abuse, or other repressive tactics merely because they form a rival ethnic group. The purest examples of this phenomenon in recent years have occurred in Burundi, where the minority Tutsi dominated the majority Hutu, and in Rwanda, where the minority Tutsi became the victims of Hutu revenge for past misdeeds.

During 1979, the majority of African refugees originated from a half dozen nations: Zimbabwe, Angola, Zaire, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Equatorial Guinea. Likewise, a half dozen nations were the principal destinations of refugees seeking asylum: Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire, Tanzania, Somalia, and Sudan. Zaire was in the curious position of being both a major supplier and a major recipient of refugees, accepting Angolans, Rwandans, and others, while contributing to the flow of refugees arriving in Angola and Uganda.

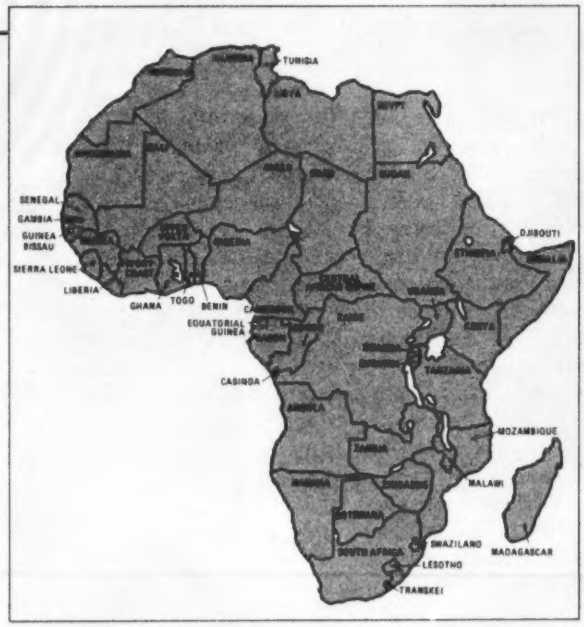
The plight of these refugees calls for sympathetic consideration by the people of the United States and for a kind of assistance different in many ways from the assistance rendered Asian and East European Refugees. The similarities of need are there, to be sure.

Most who become refugees, whether in Africa or in Asia, arrive with only what they have been able to carry. They have few possessions and little, if any, means of making a livelihood. Many refugees are in poor health and suffer from various tropical diseases, malnutrition, and fatigue. Many are young persons with special health and education requirements. Whether young or old, in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, or elsewhere, refugees have the universal needs of medical care, food, clothing, and shelter.

For refugees in Asia and Eastern Europe, however, world attention focuses on resettlement, the United States being the first choice of most refugees.

Resettlement in America is not appropriate to the African situation. The only feasible solution is to assist willing African nations in resettling refugees, either until the time when they can return to their homelands or until they become productive new citizens in and integrated into countries of asylum.

The problems are enormous and numerous. Most refugees are peasant farmers and most organized settlements are rural, but the camps are often located, by necessity or circumstance, on infertile, arid land, requiring not just hard work, but the provision of water, fertilizer, improved seeds, and more efficient cultivation tools.



Unfortunately for the three million African refugees, most asylum nations are so poor themselves that they cannot provide even the basic elements to keep the weary refugees alive. The aim of foreign assistance must be not mere relief, but training men and women in improved agricultural methods that will provide more food, in health and sanitation practices that will increase longevity, and in fundamental educational skills that will promote their abilities as workers and citizens. These settlements can become model villages and innovative farms, given proper guidance and appropriate technology by the international development community.

Another great requirement at refugee camps is the education and training of youths. More than 60 percent of the African refugees are under 16 years of age. For them, being uprooted is especially cruel because their chances for educational and economic opportunities are reduced from already slim probabilities. The goal of all refugee aid must be to make this experience a steppingstone in the lives of the refugees and not a catastrophe.

Reviewing 1979

A quick review of the major developments in the 1979 African refugee situation shows that it varies a

More "Dramatic" to Die in a Boat Than on a Desert in Africa?

This world body has rightly mobilized resources to assist the surviving and more publicized boat people and the stricken thousands of Campuchia. No decent man or woman will do anything other than applaud the vigourous humanitarian actions which are currently being undertaken. But, Mr. Chairman, it is a sad reflection perhaps as much on ourselves as on the sensation-seeking elements in the mass-media, that it is held more 'dramatic' to die in a boat in a storm, than on foot in the deserts of Africa. It is, however, just as tragic and final. Certain questions must be asked. Is Africa receiving a fair share of the assistance already available? And how can the overall effort best be expanded and improved?

— Ambassador Mohamed Sharif of Somali Democratic Republic, in a speech to the United Nations, Nov. 13, 1979

great deal according to the geographical region.

The stream of refugees is increasing and the problems multiplying in southern Africa, especially in the independent black nations bordering Zimbabwe (previously Rhodesia—Ed.). Many of the citizens fleeing Zimbabwe are refugees, but others are joining Patriotic Front forces as guerrilla fighters and this complicates the picture. The irony of life in the refugee camps of Zambia and Mozambique during 1979 was the possibility of becoming a casualty of the aerial bombardments instituted by the Muzorewa-Smith government. Mozambique, an asylum for many Zimbabweans, is itself suffering from acts of sabotage and espionage by groups opposed to President Samora Machel's government.

Botswana, which has long frontiers with Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as abutting South Africa, has become a transit route rather than the final destination for many refugees crossing its borders. One of the poorest nations in Africa, Botswana can little afford even minimal assistance, although it is willing to assist in whatever ways possible.

In Angola, the MPLA, which has controlled the central government since independence, still has not unified the nation or neutralized the rival political groups, UNITA and FNLA. Although many refugees have been repatriated in Angola, many more are in Zaire, either being absorbed gradually into the Zairean economy or living in rural agricultural settlements. Substantial numbers have established permanent residence in northern Zambia and are developing productive farming communities.

Thousands flee conflicts between nations such as fighting in Ethiopia's Ogaden region

In East Africa, the refugee situation during 1979 was most acute in the Horn area. Thousands of refugees from the Ogaden have sought asylum in Somalia and in Djibouti. Both governments appealed to international agencies for help in alleviating hardships through relief assistance and through the establishment of projects in agriculture, animal husbandry, and forestry. The continuing effort of the Ethiopian Government to suppress the revolt of its northern province of Eritrea accounted for many of the refugees seeking asylum in Sudan.

Perhaps the most publicized source of African refugees in the last few years has been Idi Amin's Uganda. The publicity accurately highlighted the arbitrary and tyrannical character of Amin himself, but it failed to reflect adequately the Muslim-Christian conflict and the ethnic differences that contributed to the brutality of the situation. Consequently, the creation of mammoth new waves of exiles seeking refuge in Sudan after Amin's fall in 1979 caught many Americans by surprise.

Elsewhere in East Africa, the ethnic rivalry between the Hutu and the Tutsi in Burundi and Rwanda has contributed to the refugee population in adjoining countries, but most of these refugees are being absorbed into the host economies and establishing permanent residency. The government of Burundi is now in the hands of a moderate military junta headed by Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza. He appears to appreciate the need for land reform, a strong grievance of the more numerous but politically naive Hutu, and for economic and social integration of the Hutu. However, his actions in expelling Christian missionaries and in accusing Roman Catholic bishops of spreading anti-government propaganda may make the 60 percent of the population which is Roman Catholic vulnerable to tensions from yet another source. The minority Tutsi, politically suppressed and economically impoverished, continued to leave Rwanda during 1979. With the heavy

Refugees from Zaire, at camp in Angola, await distribution of UNHCR-supplied food.

population pressure, the insufficiency of land, and the misuse of resources in both Burundi and Rwanda, the fate of the people could hardly be much worse as refugees.

In central Africa, the major change during 1979 which may affect the refugee situation was the deposing and execution of Macias Nguema in Equatorial Guinea. It is estimated that a third of the population of that small nation, with its mainland territory situated between Cameroon and Gabon, fled during Macias' reign of terror. An unsettling aspect, however, is the claim by leaders of the Equatorial Guinea Opposition in Madrid that the new government of Colonel Teodoro Nguema Mbansogo is merely a cosmetic change from the old, repressive one of his cousin.

In Zaire, many of the continuing refugee problems stem from the persistent unrest in Shaba province.

Angola still not unified... many refugees remain in Zaire, Zambia

President Mobutu's offer of amnesty to the Lunda people who were involved in the 1977 and 1978 rebellions attracted back many of those who had fled, but many more remained with their ethnic brothers in Angola. The political and economic instability of the entire region offers little encouragement for peaceful solutions.

Future — Like the Past

The future of the refugee situation on the African continent is likely to be repetitive of the past. All the conditions which lead people to seek refuge in other countries — deprivation of human rights, civil strife, international conflict, and unmet physical needs, whether due to natural or man-made disaster — will probably continue to generate large numbers of refugees.

The national boundaries drawn up rather frivolously in European capitals in the late 19th century slice through ethnic loyalties, setting up social tensions that are exacerbated by competition for the necessities of life. Since most nations are committed to retaining all of their territory regardless of the circumstances under which they acquired it, the numerous ethnic

UNHCR/K. Gaugler

Two refugees await return to homes in Zaire, at a transit center run by UNHCR.

groups must hereafter transcend parochial and historical ties to adopt a loyalty to their national government. Nation-building is a difficult, frustrating and slow task, but preferable to the warfare which would ensue were African nations unilaterally to attempt rectification of the mistakes made by the European colonizers.

On a continent where governments — not yet independent for a generation — have fragile social and legal fabrics, they are vulnerable to the same kinds of tyranny that infected governments of Europe and the Americas in their infancy. Of the three gross examples of recent times in Africa — Amin in Uganda, Bokassa in Central African Republic, and Macias in Equatorial Guinea, two generated large numbers of refugees.

The most fertile breeding medium for ethnic conflict and civil tyranny is the medium in which basic human needs are not adequately met. Of the 29 nations considered by the United Nations to be least developed, Africa claims 18. Even such nations as Gabon which are not so listed have a ranking on the Physical Qual-

ity of Life Index (PQLI) which reflects great needs among the people, notwithstanding a high average GNP.

All of these factors, not to mention the still-to-be resolved issue of rule in South Africa, must not be allowed to detract from the positive forces at work on the African continent to relieve the plight of refugees. A number of African countries, in particular Tanzania, Botswana, and Zambia, have demonstrated a willingness, in spite of their own economic fragility, to receive and, where practical, to resettle refugees permanently. This necessitates a large commitment on their part, for the allocation of land, government services, and educational facilities is involved. These kinds of actions need to be more widely recognized and appreciatively hailed by the international community. They need, also, to be more widely emulated by other African states.

Many African nations, although willing to participate in refugee resettlement, are simply unable to spare the extra resources required to do so or to give more than token support. For them, improved terms of foreign trade and international assistance in their modernization programs will enhance their economies, providing a basis for sharing in the continent-wide refugee problem as well as alleviating conditions which might make their own nations refugee-generating areas.

Until African nations can handle the refugee crisis themselves, international relief and development agencies and private voluntary organizations must accept the major burden. They must supply the basic components of assistance — food, medicine, shelter, and clothing. Beyond these life-sustaining ingredients are the long-range programs which are mandatory if African refugees are to become self-sufficient.

UNHCR

Refugees from Ethiopia constructed huts in camp at Djibouti.

Africans want to work, but education, skills training, counselling, and job placement opportunities must be provided. Africans want to feed their families, but wells, fertilizer, seeds, tools, and agricultural information are required to turn their small acreage into productive farms.

African refugees, whether repatriated to their home country or resettled permanently in a host nation, want to rebuild their homes and to begin life anew. They have dreams and hopes for the future, like people everywhere. But their future is not theirs to plan — it is ours to provide. □

Refugee Review

Southern Africa

Angola

Fighting continues in Angola (pop. 5.8 million) but little is known about its extent. Two guerrilla movements actively fight the control of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which is aided by Cuban troops.

Fighting in recent years had caused hundreds of thousands to flee to Zaire, Zambia, Botswana and Namibia. In 1978 Angola and Zaire signed a cooperation agreement. One result was that hundreds of thousands of refugees returned to their homelands in each country, from the other, with the assistance of UNHCR.

The government claims resistance has all but ended and states that Cuban troops are needed only to protect against incursions by South Africans. But one guerrilla leader, Jonas Zavimbi, stated in 1979 that his "freedom fighters" regularly battle Cubans and insisted his forces are cutting into government-controlled territory.

Angola, a country larger than Texas and California, has refugees from other countries. A remainder from Zaire was estimated at 30,000. Another group of 30,000 came from Namibia, to the south, where the struggle centers on Namibia's independence, with the help of UN sponsored negotiations.

In Angola, United Nations high commissioner assists eligible refugees in resettlement and repatriation, and UNICEF has provided quantities of food for the internally displaced.

Botswana

Neutral Botswana (pop. 710,000) is surrounded by countries involved in conflict – Zambia, Zimbabwe Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia and Angola – and has attracted refugees from fighting and oppression.

Seven thousand Angolans have been successfully resettled in northwestern Botswana and no longer require international assistance. UN aid is helping 1,000 refugees from South Africa; their differences from the local people have caused some tensions. The largest refugee total is from Zimbabwe, with 23,000 in camps and new refugees arriving at 600 to 1,000 per month.

At the beginning of 1980 most were repatriated to Zimbabwe.

Burundi

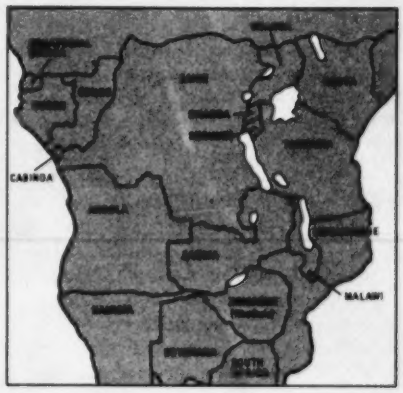
Burundi (pop. 3,970,000) and neighbor Rwanda are former mandates of Belgium, becoming independent in 1962. In 1972 centuries-old rivalry between Hutu and Tutsi tribal groups exploded into fighting, causing mass refugee flight. Hutus tried unsuccessfully to oust the ruling Tutsis. The slaughter of Hutu tribe members was estimated at from 100,000 to 250,000. A 1976 coup brought to power Jean Baptiste Bagaza, who is regarded as comparatively moderate.

Burundi, the size of Maryland, is one of the poorest and most densely populated countries in Africa. About 155,000 refugees from Burundi are in three neighboring states: 135,000 in Tanzania, 11,000 in Zaire and 8,500 in Rwanda. Refugees in Tanzania and Rwanda appear likely to stay. Conditions in Zaire are not as favorable and thousands have chosen to go back to Burundi.

Burundi is asylum country for approximately 50,000 refugees, mostly from Rwanda. The UN High Commissioner operates education and other programs.

Mozambique

In 1979 the number of refugees from Zimbabwe Rhodesia in Mozambique rose to an estimated 150,000 at September 30. "The existence of numerous ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) transit camps and military bases complicates any estimate of the number of non-combatant refugees," commented the U.S. Coordinator's report. In 1978 and 1979 forces from Zimbabwe Rhodesia attacked "transit" refugee camps, with



loss of life, foodstuffs and property. UNHCR and several voluntary agencies offer aid programs. Mozambique has 9.8 million people in a territory larger than Texas.

Zimbabwe

As 1979 drew to a close the British government was supervising the end of fighting in Zimbabwe Rhodesia, following lengthy peace talks. Guerrillas of the Patriotic Front and government forces were assembling at points throughout the country. An election was held in February 1980. Fighting which began in 1965 ended.

Peace meant the return of thousands who fled to other countries, including soldiers of the Front. And it also enabled thousands more who moved within the country to return to their homes.

At years' end the Zimbabwe refugee count in surrounding countries was: Mozambique 150,000; Zambia 43,000; Botswana 22,000. Within the country an estimated 500,000 were moved to "proscribed villages" around cities, especially the capital, Salisbury.

Zimbabwe's population is estimated at 6.7 million, on territory nearly as large as California. The number of white residents has declined from a 1975 high of 278,000 to an estimated 230,000 at years' end.

Southern Africa *(Continued)*

Namibia

Namibia, formerly known as South-West Africa, has a population of 852,000 in a land twice the size of California. The UN Security Council condemned South Africa (1970) for "illegal" control of the area, which had been a UN trust territory. South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) engaged in guerrilla war, from Angola. Negotiations and a proposed free election still had not brought peace in 1979. South Africa displaced thousands of Namibians to create a "security zone" along the 1,000-mile border with Angola, and thousands fled to other countries. Refugees from Namibia in Angola are estimated at 30,000 and in Zambia at 5,500.

Rwanda

Like neighboring Burundi, Rwanda's history has been dominated by the fierce, often bloody, rivalry between the Tutsi tribe and the Hutus. Today Rwanda refugees are distributed in four neighboring countries: Burundi 50,000; Tanzania 25,000; Zaire 22,000; and Uganda 78,000. Rwanda, the size of Maryland with 4.5 million people, has 8,500 refugees, mostly from Burundi. Most have settled and seem unlikely to return home.

South Africa

Numbers of refugees fleeing South Africa are small and are largely comprised of a few thousand black students who left after the riots in Soweto of 1976. They are receiving assistance from the UN in their studies in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and elsewhere. The Senate Judiciary Committee report acknowledges that as many as 20,000 whites may be leaving each year, concerned that violence may envelop their home country, but it does not define them as refugees since they are not persecuted by the government.

South Africa's population is 26 million, with 17 per cent white, in a land four fifths the size of Alaska.

Tanzania

Tanzania has within its borders about 170,000 refugees. It is a country about twice the size of California with a population of 16 million. The refugees are from Burundi (135,000), Rwanda (25,000), Uganda (6,000-8,000) and other southern African countries.

Many settlements are permanent. UNHCR has assisted in a variety of projects to make refugees self-sufficient.

During the war with Uganda in late 1978 and early 1979, approximately 40,000 Tanzanians in the Kagera River area were displaced by the fighting. With help from the United States and voluntary agencies the government established four camps to house the displaced, and some have already returned home.

Zaire

One of Africa's largest countries, Zaire is host to about 200,000 refugees, and approximately 70,000 of its own citizens are in exile. As a result of an agreement in 1978, thousands of Zairians have returned from Angola. The former Belgian Congo, Zaire is one fourth the size of the continental U.S., with 26.4 million people.

Angola, as it was formerly administered by the Portuguese, included the small enclave of Cabinda, which is separated by Zaire from mainland Angola. A total of 41,000 refugees from Cabinda are in the seacoast area of Zaire. They oppose repatriation.

Though many thousands of Angolans have returned home, 100,000 are reported still to be in Zaire, many of them apparently established as farmers. The numbers fluctuate in proportion to continuing warfare in Angola.

On its eastern border Zaire has refugee settlements of 22,000 from Rwanda and 11,000 from Burundi. The fall of the Amin regime in Uganda in April brought 15,000 to 20,000 refugees into northeastern Zaire. Many belong to tribes that span both sides of the 700-kilometer border between Zaire and Uganda, and receive help from the tribes.

The return of Zairian refugees who had fled fighting in Shaba province in 1977 and 1978 was supervised by the UN high commissioner. Most are back in their original home areas and are being supplied with food, seed, tools and medical care.

Zambia

Indepedent since 1964, Zambia formerly was known as Northern Rhodesia. The size of Texas, its population is 5.4 million, with a refugee population of approximately 75,000. The landlocked country is the world's third largest producer of copper, which it has trouble marketing because warfare has cut roads and railroads.

The conflict in Zimbabwe Rhodesia is the largest factor in determining Zambia's foreign relations and economic life. Refugees from Zimbabwe number 43,000, including 15,000 to 20,000 who are guerrilla fighters for the Patriotic Front against the Zimbabwean government. Zimbabwe has retaliated for raids from Zambian territory, destroying road and rail lines to the outside.

Zambia is short of corn, the staple of the local diet. Peace in Zimbabwe is counted on to help Zambia's economy revive.

Refugees in the country also include 26,000 from Angola, 5,500 from Namibia and smaller groups from other African countries.

Refugee Review

Northeast Africa

Chad

The Republic of Chad (pop. 4.2 million, four-fifths the size of Alaska) had a civil war in 1979, causing 9,000 to flee to Cameroon, Sudan and Niger. Some 350 police and army officers loyal to the deposed president fled to Sudan. UNHCR is helping the refugees in countries of asylum.

Djibouti

Djibouti, on the gulf of Aden, is a city with 300,000 people. It is a former French territory, and aid from France helps Djibouti contend with high unemployment. With its meager resources the country has 50,000 refugees, nearly a tenth of the population. Some are ethnic Somalis who fled from fighting in the Ogaden areas of Ethiopia; others are from Eritrea.

Ethiopia

Refugees from Ethiopia (pop. 28.9 million) and displaced persons within the country have been forced to move primarily by the Eritrean and Ogaden conflicts. With a fierce spirit of independence, Eritrea resists annexation to Ethiopia, begun in 1962. In the '60s the first Eritrean refugees went into the Sudan. An offensive in 1978 by Ethiopia has brought new displacement and suffering. The conflict continues.

Somalia contests Ethiopia's hold over the Ogaden, a vast area in "the horn of Africa". Fighting began in 1977 and continues as the "Western Somali Liberation Front," with Somali support, battles Ethiopian forces who are assisted by Cuban troops. Within the Bale and Sidamo regions of the Ogaden, nearly a million persons have been affected by the fighting, and many have fled to Somalia.

In several northern provinces, drought, famine, locust plague and political disorders affected about one-third of the population, about 1.5 million, who required some degree of emergency assistance in 1978 and 1979.

Kenya

Refugees living in Kenya (pop. 14.3 million) number about 6,000 with about 5,000 from Uganda. In 1979 many who had fled the Uganda regime of Idi Amin returned to their homeland when Amin was overthrown, while others associated with Amin fled to Kenya. UNHCR assists them.

Somalia

The Somali Democratic Republic has a population estimated at 5 million in a territory the size of Texas. The total of those in 21 Somalian refugee camps was reported in December to be 474,300. In addition, 700,000 are living outside camps in the surrounding area. A New York Times report (Nov. 18, 1979) termed these totals "one of the largest single concentrations of refugees in the world."

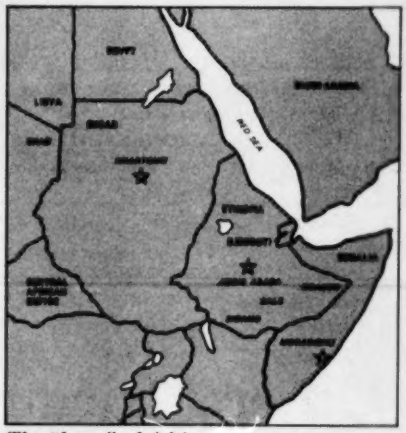
The developing refugee tide began in 1977 when Somali guerrillas, with support from the government, invaded the Ogaden, a part of Ethiopia. At one point the Somalis held a large part of the territory but then troops of the Ethiopian government, with help from Cuba and the Soviet Union, managed to drive out the Somali forces.

Today Somali guerrillas carry on, making raids at night. By day Soviet MIG fighters strafe Ogaden Villages. Also by night, refugees flee into Somalia, whose president in September said a fund of $70 million is needed to help them (New York Times, Oct. 29, 1979).

UNHCR has requested $70 million to help refugees in the current year.

Sudan

Sudan's refugee population increased dramatically in 1979 following the overthrow of Idi Amin in neighboring Uganda. Current UNHCR estimates place the total between 340,000 and 350,000. Approximately 303,000 come from Ethiopia, mostly Eritrea; 35,000 from Uganda; 5,000 from Zaire and 1,000 from Chad.



The "horn" of Africa.

The most recent influx consists of Ethiopians and of Sudanese nationals and Ugandans fleeing violence surrounding the overthrow of Amin. Most Ugandans are expected eventually to go home and most of the Sudanese will probably stay. Ethiopia continues to battle Eritreans, for the time being barring return of refugees from Eritrea.

The refugee influx is added to internally displaced people, resulting from earlier political battles in Sudan.

The High Commissioner has recommended a budget of $7 million to help refugees in Sudan in 1980.

Sudan has a population of 17 million in a country which is one fourth as large as the continental U.S.

Uganda

One of the major events of 1979 in Africa was the April overthrow of Ugandan dictator Idi Amin by a combined force of Ugandan exiles and the army of Tanzania. Thousands of Amin supporters fled the country, 35,000 of them north into Sudan.

Following the victory, economic and security conditions have been unstable. A provisional president was selected, pending elections. Many Ugandans who had fled from the Amin government were slow to return from exile

until conditions grew more stable. About 30,000 had returned by Sept. 30 and 50,000 more were expected.

Within Uganda are about 118,000 refugees, mostly from Rwanda and Zaire. They had been settled in the western and southern areas for a number of years. During the fighting about 25,000 of these refugees were uprooted and their settlements destroyed.

UNHCR created a special aid appeal of $13.3 million to help these refugees, in addition to helping the returning exiles and an estimated 265,000 internally displaced persons.

Refugee Review

Other African Areas

Saharan Refugees

"Polisario" is another name given these refugees in 23 camps around the Sahara desert town of Tindouf, Algeria. The word is an acronym for "Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia el Hamra and Rio de Oro." Saquia is now occupied by Morocco on the Atlantic coast of northwest Africa. Rio was claimed by Mauritania which since has withdrawn the claim.

In November, 1975 the Spanish government agreed to transfer administrative authority over the phosphate-rich Spanish Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania, the two neighboring countries which claimed they possessed the area before it became a Spanish colony.

"This agreement and subsequent Moroccan-Mauritanian partition of Western Sahara were against the desires of the local nomadic people for independence. UN resolutions and an International Court of Justice advisory opinion favored self-determination" said the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee report on refugees.

The Polisario had been the principal opposition to the Spanish presence. After Morocco and Mauritania forcibly occupied the Western Sahara (November, 1975 to February, 1976), many Saharans fled the major towns. Informal refugee camps were first set up in the desert around nomadic Saharan encampments, then moved further away, near Tindouf, across the border in Algeria.

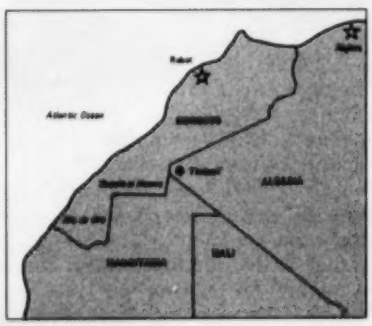
The Polisario established a Saharan Democratic Arab Republic which has been recognized by 19 states. The Front warred against Mauritania until the government changed in 1978, and Mauritania dropped its claim. In 1979 the U.S. granted arms assistance to the King of Morocco.

Because Tindouf is remote (1,000 miles from Algiers), and because the Algerian government has prevented international observers from visiting the area, precise information is scanty. Algeria says the refugee population is 50,000.

In 1979 the UNHCR spent $1.2 million in assistance funds, through the Algerian Red Crescent Society.

Equatorial Guinea

Approximately one-third of Equatorial Guinea's population, estimated in 1977 to be 320,000, may have fled the brutal regime of Macie Nguema Biyogo to neighboring countries in recent years — 80,000 in Gabon; about 30,000 in Cameroon; and unknown numbers in Nigeria. A coup on August 3 brought about a change of government, but it is still early to predict how many refugees will return. Most of the refugees are members of the Fang ethnic group, on the mainland portion of the country, which is the size of Maryland. Since they share common language and culture with other Fang in Gabon and Cameroon, the refugees have been "fairly well integrated" into local community structures, according to the U.S. Coordinator of Refugee Affairs. Other recent arrivals have not yet been absorbed in Cameroon. UNHCR has a mission at work in Gabon, and a U.S. mission in September viewed Guinea's needs, following the coup.



"Polisario" refugee area.

Refugee Review

Asia

Note: The situation of Indochinese refugees in Southeast Asia is described in the article beginning on Page 12.

Arakanese Refugees

The Arakanese are Moslems who fled a section of Burma across the border to Bangladesh in 1978, at one time numbering 200,000 in camps. Negotiations between the two governments led to repatriation for all the Arakanese. UNHCR budgeted $5.5 million in 1979. Saudi Arabia made a grant of $10 million to pay all food costs in 1979 and to operate a hospital for refugees. A special UNHCR fund also helps on care in Bangladesh and repatriation in Burma.

Afghans in Pakistan

Since 1978 civil war raged between Moslem guerrillas and the Soviet-backed central government in Kabul. Refugees poured over the border into Pakistan, where 402,100 had been registered as of the end of December, according to UNHCR.

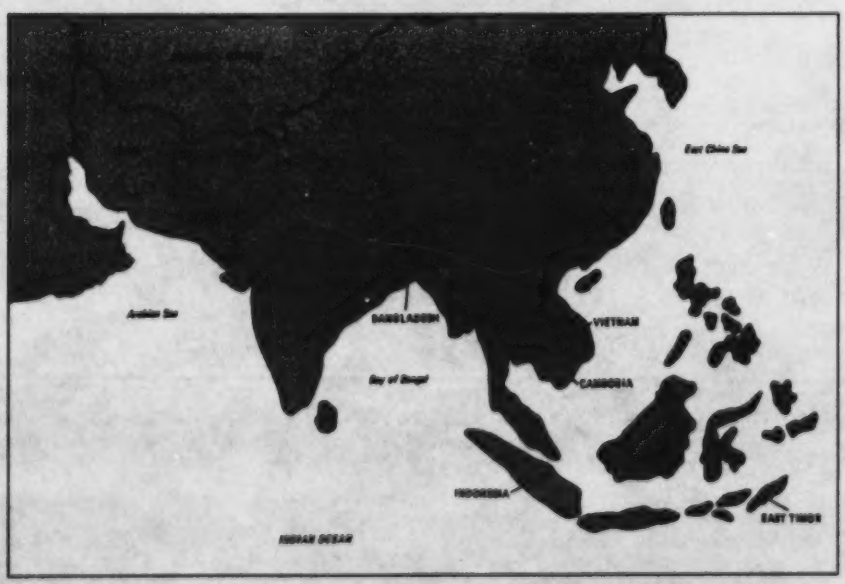
Many of the refugees are from ethnic groups which live on both sides of the border. Others are nomads. Approximately 300,000 Afghans have also fled into Iran.

The Pakistan government was providing aid, with help from the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Photo by J. Denois

Children at Thailand camp await food supplied by UNICEF.

displaced persons in what is now Bangladesh. They claim to be citizens of Pakistan, which lost control of the area when Bangladesh won independence in 1971. Though 220,000 were repatriated to Pakistan, an uncertain number out of the original total of 275,000 remain in camps. UNHCR was involved in repatriation. Many have become assimilated; further movement to Pakistan seems unlikely.



East Timor

An estimated 200,000 farmers, out of a population of 600,000, have been caused to flee in years of fighting between local "independence" forces and troops of Indonesia.

East Timor is a portion of an island 400 miles north of Australia. In 1975 the Portuguese government gave up rule of the area. Indonesia, which rules the west part of the island, annexed the area by force. A local movement, Fretelin, sought independence.

Thousands fled into the hills where large numbers died of starvation. At a hearing of one of the House foreign relations subcommittees, in December, speakers differed on responsibility for the deaths and for the continuing state of famine.

State Department spokesmen said the causes of the trouble were neglect by the former Portuguese rulers, the primitive farming methods of the native population, arid climate and poor soil.

But Congressman Tom Harkin of Iowa maintained genocide and famine were the result of ruthless Indonesian military actions. He said the U.S. supplied the weapons to Indonesia. As many as 100,000 people were killed, and the famine "should be compared to the Cambodian tragedy".

State Department representatives said new areas to which the native population was moved offered better prospects for farming.

The International Committee of the Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services are carrying out aid programs with a total of $8.7 million supplied by the U.S.

Refugee Review

Europe and Canada

Austria

Austria granted asylum to 3,412 refugees in 1978, 30 per cent more than in the prior year. Ninety per cent were from Eastern Europe. Other refugees were given temporary asylum pending resettlement. In recent years Austria has accepted small numbers of Chileans, Indochinese, Argentines and Kurds as permanent residents.

Austria provides the assembly area for Soviet emigres in transit to the U.S., Israel and other countries.

Belgium

Belgium is a traditional haven for refugees from Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Belgium has settled 1,400 from Indochina and raised its annual rate from 300 to 2,062.

Canada

Since World War II, Canada has accepted more than 350,000 refugees and displaced persons. Some totals from recent years include: 27,200 from Indochina, 7,000 from Chile, 7,000 Asians from Uganda. In 1979 the government tripled the rate of admission of Indochinese to 3,000 per month, aiming to take 36,000 by the end of 1980. Based on its population of 23 million, it is one of the largest contributors to Indochinese resettlement, second only to Australia and somewhat ahead of the U.S.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland

These four countries rank among the top contributors to UNHCR on a per capita basis. They have responded with extra monies for the UNHCR Southeast Asia refugee programs.

As is true for many western nations, flag vessels from the four are instructed to rescue "boat people" in distress at sea. Norway has resettled nearly 900 from Indochina, and will take another 2,500 by the end of 1980. Denmark will add 600 from Southeast Asia. Sweden, giving priority to the handicapped, is accepting 2,000 after an initial 250. Finland will resettle 100.

Eastern Europe

Yugoslavia allows generally free emigration, but the other Eastern European countries are restrictive in theory though they vary in practice. Hungary, Poland and Romania permit emigration for family reunification.

In the years 1973 to 1979, 45,700 persons from Eastern Europe entered the U.S. under refugee programs. Numbers ranged from more than 4,000 from Romania to four from East Germany. Poland, East Germany, Romania and the Soviet Union have also permitted the emigration of some 100,000 ethnic Germans since 1976.

The European Communities (EC)

Nine West European countries contribute through both EC contributions to internatic nal organizations and their own national donations. In 1978 EC allocated $12 million to help refugees on three continents.

At the July 1979 Geneva meeting on Indochinese refugees, the European Economic Commission pledged $25 million for UNHCR in 1979 and $5.5 million in 1980. The European Parliament planned to contribute $1.4 million to help Indochinese.

Federal Republic of Germany

In 1979 immigration of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union totaled 54,600. FRG has admitted 2,500 Chileans and 9,000 Indochinese, and offered temporary asylum to 33,000 Turkish and Pakistani nationals. In all West Germany will take 20,000 refugees from Indochina and it has increased its financial contributions to UNHCR, along with other countries.

France

Because of France's ties as former colonial power in Indochina, it has admit-

ted an exceptional number of refugees from Southeast Asia, roughly equal to the U.S. on a per capita basis. Since 1975, the country has received almost 60,000 from Southeast Asia, second only to China and the U.S. In addition France accepts approximately 1,000 refugees per year from Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America.

Greece

Athens is the location of a U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service processing center for refugees from the Middle East. Lebanese and Iraqi Christians await travel to permanent resettlement countries. Approximately 2,600 White Russians, Armenians and Eastern Europeans now permanently reside in Greece. Small numbers from Indochina have been resettled.

Italy

Italy has been important to international refugee efforts since World War II, as location of a processing center for U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service for hundreds of thousands from Eastern Europe. It continues to serve as an important center, especially for movement of Soviet Jews to the United States. Several U.S. voluntary agencies provide care and handle arrangements for them. Italy will resettle 1,000 Indochinese refugees.

The Netherlands

Despite dense population, The Netherlands has provided homes for many refugees. In 1979 it expected to welcome 2,050, with 1,360 from Indochina. Dutch vessels at sea pick up refugees with the guarantee that they may enter The Netherlands if not resettled elsewhere within three weeks.

Portugal

As the colonial period ended in 1975, Portugal's population increased by 500,000 to 700,000 people who returned from former African colonies, principally Angola. The size of Indiana, Portugal in 1976 had an estimated 9.7 million people.

VIVA/Pascale Ehrenberg

Indochinese refugees answer questions at ICEM transit center near Paris.

The financial strain of providing for the returnees was partly eased by U.S. aid of $36 million. Almost 20 per cent of those who returned are unemployed, with 3,000 still in returnee camps in 1979.

Small numbers have returned to Angola from Portugal and eventual movement is foreseen to Mozambique.

Spain

Latin American political refugees and emigrants by tradition have headed for Spain. An estimated 100,000 are settled in Spain, 24,000 of these as political refugees. Cuban refugees, most of them bound eventually for the U.S., have also made Spain a central point, because of an INS processing center in Madrid. Numbers for 1980 were estimated at 2,000 to 2,500. Another group of refugees, 5,000, from Equatorial Guinea, remains largely unassimilated. Spain is planning to accept 1,000 from Indochina.

Switzerland

Though small in size, Switzerland admits more than 1,000 refugees each year, and extends its welcome to those who are hard to place, such as 140 handicapped received in 1978. Switzerland contributes to UNHCR and to International Committee of the Red Cross, and its Disaster Relief Corps has helped UNHCR.

United Kingdom

The British government estimates that some 153,000 refugees have taken residence in the United Kingdom. Included in the total are Hungarians (1956), Czechs (1968), Asian Ugandans ('72-3), Chileans (since '73), Cypriots (since '74), Lebanese (since '76) and Indochinese (since '75). In 1979 the UK announced it would take 10,000 more Indochinese.

Refugee Review

Latin America

In 1979 civil war raged in Nicaragua, forcing thousands to flee abroad and within the country. Refugees continued to come out of Cuba, with the agreement of the Castro government, though numbers have decreased in recent years. Refugees continue to leave Argentina and Chile; again, numbers were reduced. The situations in these countries are described in short accounts below. Following are several paragraphs relating the situation in remaining countries which have significant numbers of refugees.

In addition, a separate article explores the "limbo" of refugees from Haiti, the 8,000 "boat people" who have been apprehended as "illegal entrants" into the United States. They wait for judgment of their cases by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the U.S. courts.

Argentina

The study of the Senate Judiciary Committee characterized Argentina as having "one of the worst ... human rights situations in Latin America," with terrorist acts, unexplained arrests and disappearances. It is estimated 235,000 have fled to other countries.

The recent refugees join earlier waves who sought escape from oppressive acts by the government. The Argentine Commission for Human Rights, a non-profit, non-governmental organization based in Washington, estimates that more than 250,000 now live abroad — principally in Spain, Italy, Mexico and Venezuela. In addition, the U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs reports an estimated 30,000 Argentines are unregistered refugees in Brazil.

Argentina has also provided asylum for other refugees. A total of 6,000 from Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay have been permitted to settle there out of 18,000 who arrived since the beginning of 1973. UN high commissioner in 1978 aided 1,800 refugees to resettle in third countries.

Argentina has also agreed to accept 1,000 Indochinese families. Argentina, four times to size of Texas, has 26 million people.

UNICS/A. Rubesche

In 1979 civil war left many displaced victims in Nicaragua. A despondent mother keeps vigil at the side of her seriously malnourished child, staying alive through intravenous feeding.

Chile

In September 1973, a military coup of the right overthrew the Allende government. The new regime repressed the opposition, killing an estimated 20,000. Since the overthrow about 80,000 Chileans have moved out of their country. Many went to Argentina and Peru, moving later to other countries. Others were resettled from Chile by the UN high commissioner and by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM).

"Through worldwide efforts, most of the needs of the Chilean refugees have been met, more than five years after the coup," noted the Senate Judiciary Committee report. Larger than Texas, Chile has a population of 10.7 million.

Cuba

Since the victory of Fidel Castro in 1959, one of history's largest refugee movements has originated in Cuba. The total number leaving is estimated at 800,000, by 1975. U.S. statistics show that nearly 700,000 have settled in the United States, a large number in Florida. For their initial period here, these refugees were assisted with medical care, job placement and cash assistance.

The U.S. is currently admitting 3,500 political prisoners and their families, perhaps 10,000 people in all.

While Cuba permits the emigration of some citizens it considers undesirable, it also provides asylum to political refugees from Chile, Uruguay and other countries. The island, which is as large as Pennsylvania, has a population of 9.5 million.

Nicaragua

Nicaragua was ravaged by civil war in 1978 and 1979, ending in the downfall of President Anastasio Somoza, who fled to Paraguay, and the installation of a new government on July 20, 1979.

"Out of a total population of not more than 2.5 million, 150,000 persons were killed or wounded, some 100,000 became refugees and half a million were forced to abandon their homes," reported the UN high commissioner. "The Economic Commission for Latin America assessed the material damage at $580 million. The economy, based mainly on agriculture, was totally disrupted." Nicaragua is the size of Wisconsin.

A special aid effort was begun by the UN, with food and medical supplies rushed there. Both returned refugees and persons displaced in Nicaragua are being helped by the UN high commissioner.

As of September 30 the U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs reported 25,000 to 30,000 Nicaraguans were still in Costa Rica. Honduras, at the peak of fighting, had 100,000; by August 13,000 were still getting help from International Committee of the Red Cross, but this did not include all of the remaining refugees. The number in Panama was reported to be 800.

Other Countries

Brazil accepts Latin American refugees for resettlement elsewhere. One thousand left in a recent 14-month period. But most refugees in Brazil, including an estimated 30,000 Argentines, are unregistered, and this is a problem for the country.

Costa Rica has a long-standing policy of granting asylum to political refugees. At one time in 1979 more than 80,000 Nicaraguans had taken refuge in Costa Rica. The most recent report had 25,000 to 30,000 remaining. In addition in 1979 the country planned to receive 138 former Cuban political prisoners in transit to the U.S. Costa Rica has agreed to accept 200 to 250 from Indochina but not until more of the Nicaraguans have returned home.

Ecuador has only 600 refugees registered but several times that number of people from Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, cannot or do not wish to return home. Some have changed their legal status, while others remain illegally. A national committee helps, with aid from UN and church sources.

Honduras had an estimated 100,000 refugees from Nicaragua right after the overthrow of Somoza, in July. The number still in Honduras was 13,000 late in August.

Venezuela is a haven for refugees from other countries in Latin America. As many as 50,000 from Chile, Cuba, and Nicaragua have gained asylum in recent years. There are also numbers from Colombia, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Central America, often attracted by jobs in the prospering country.

"Boat People" Flee Haiti to U.S.

by John Tenhula
Church World Service

In 1979 refugees found their way, not only into the media and into our hearts, but also into the United States as our government continued to demonstrate our ability to offer resettlement opportunities to groups from Indochina, Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. For many, the term "boat people," those refugees fleeing Viet Nam, became a household phrase. Little attention has been given, however, to another group of "boat people" — those who have fled and continue to flee the Caribbean island-nation of Haiti.

Court arguments proliferate over the status of those who have fled Haiti by boat and entered the United States illegally. Advocates of the Haitians stress the tyranny of the Duvalier regimes, and insist that those who flee face reprisals if they are returned to Haiti. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service argues that the Haitians have fled because of poor economic opportunity at home. Hence, the argument goes, they are economic migrants and not political refugees entitled to asylum under U.S. laws.

A further critical issue raised on behalf of Haitian refugees is whether they have been accorded those legal rights guaranteed to all aliens within the United States — whether in adjudicating their cases the U.S. government has respected their civil and human rights.

Why Do They Flee?

The political and economic conditions in Haiti — 4 million living on a land as large as Maryland — are unbearable for many thousands. Under the tight control of the late "Papa Doc" Duvalier, political freedom was severely curtailed. Since 1973 his son, President-for-life Jean Claude Duvalier, called "Baby Doc," has further increased repression, especially in the countryside.

Haiti is one of a handful of nations in the world that economists term the "fourth world." There is little industrial or agricultural growth. Three-quarters of the children suffer from malnutrition. Over 80 percent of the population is illiterate.

Officials of private organizations administering aid in Haiti estimate that 20 to 40 percent of the government's income goes into the Duvalier family accounts. External assistance is not invested into productive programs. Food and funds are diverted, increasing the national debt and creating a new class of profiteers.

In Haiti the media is tightly controlled. Strikes are repressed by the government with beatings and jailings. A 1978 report from Amnesty International states: "Arrests still take place without legal safeguards and are often carried out by the security militia . . . There are still many hundreds of political prisoners who have not been accounted for, dead or alive . . . Haiti has one of the world's highest mortality rates among detainees."

Haitian refugees report that the secret police force, the "ton ton Macoutes," use their position to plunder citizens. Persecution, they explain, occurs arbitrarily on a local, decentralized level, often without political motivation. Refugees report that the "ton ton Macoutes" are often controlled more by rural village chiefs than by Duvalier himself.

Haitians arrive on our shores during the cover of night on unseaworthy craft across an 800-mile stretch of rough water. They flee a country whose government, they dramatically emphasize, threatens their lives and violates their human rights.

The controversy over Haitian refugees goes back to 1963 and judicial proceedings which grew out of a boatful of 25 Haitians arriving in the United States from the Bahamas. Administrative hearings were held by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and appeals were taken to the Board of Immigration Appeals. Further judicial review was held in federal district and appeals courts. However, the final decision went against the Haitians, they were not granted asylum, and all were deported.

The current "case load" began with a boat of 60 persons apprehended in 1972. Since then over 8,000 Haitian refugees have survived the sea voyage only to be detained as they landed in the United States. Approximately 500 of these refugees have been deported to Haiti.

Economic Migrant or Political Refugee?

Having arrived in the United States, Haitian refugees without proper documentation are consigned to a state of legal and social limbo. To remain in the U.S. they must prove that they are bona fide refugees

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Map used by permission of *The Christian Science Monitor*.

under present immigration law which, prior to passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, defined refugees as persons fleeing a Communist country or from "the general area of the Middle East."

Haitians claim they are political refugees, seeking the same protection and blanket asylum granted those fleeing Communist countries. The Immigration and Naturalization Service disagrees. It treats all Haitian political asylum applications on an individual basis, and considers that most are economic migrants and not political refugees.

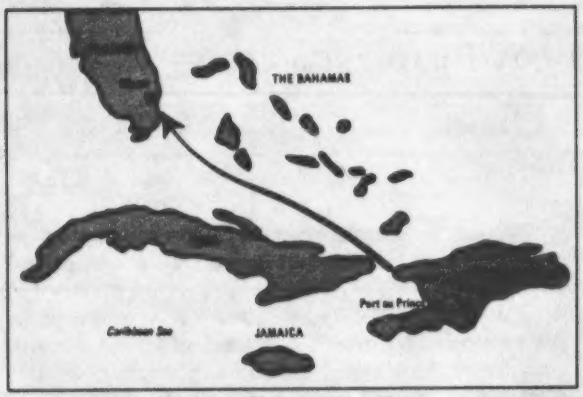
In 1979 the State Department issued a report on the Haitian asylum question based on a three-week study team visit to Haiti. The report concluded, "We thus found no evidence of any pattern or policy of mistreating returnees" and "... the team was told that a very small number of those now in the U.S. who had been actively involved in political opposition might be subject to imprisonment or surveillance if they returned." The report found that, "... most Haitian migrants come to the U.S. drawn by the prospect of economic opportunity and not fleeing political persecution ... and economic motives, however admirable, do not translate into a right, under the Protocol, to asylum."

The State Department bases its report on the returnees they interviewed, ignoring an obvious dilemma; the only people who will speak out in Haiti are those who have nothing to fear, or those who are perhaps trying to curry favor with the local Macoutes. It is very clear that no one in Haiti dares risk openly criticizing the government.

Those long associated with the plight of Haitian refugees accuse the U.S. government of "turning its shoulder" on the situation in Haiti and maintaining a double standard of human rights. Critics state the U.S. supports a dictator for fear of "another Cuba" if the Duvalier regime were overthrown. They claim that the U.S. government is reluctant to grant asylum to any significant number of Haitian refugees for fear of destablizing the Duvalier government and engendering a flood of refugees, not only from Haiti, but from other poverty-stricken Caribbean countries. Persuasive as these considerations may seem to U.S. government officials, they have no bearing on the question of whether the Haitian refugees have well-founded fears of persecution if they are returned.

Treatment in the United States

The legal and human rights of Haitians in the United States have consistently been violated or ignored over the past 8 years. Yet despite numerous protests and legal proceedings the situation persists. When INS interpreters ask the Haitian refugees why they come here, a cautious answer is likely to be "to live" or "for a better life." Few if any of the refugees understand that the answers to these questions bear on their right to asylum. If asked if they come seeking work, the answer is usually yes. With these answers, INS argues that they are economic migrants and not political refugees. Later in different circumstances these and other Haitians, questioned about Haiti, and their reason for leaving, tell stories of beatings, torture and oppression. They recite examples of arbitrary arrests, confiscation of property and even executions by the ton ton Macoutes. Many provide names, dates and specific details but such incidents, as with much in Haiti, are almost impossible to verify.



Boat trip from Haiti to U.S. is 800 miles.

The INS maintains that most of the political asylum applicants fail to establish a "well-founded" fear of persecution. "Ninety percent of these people don't make political asylum claims until after they talk to a lawyer," said INS Deputy District Director Richard Gullage, in Miami.

Until 1977 INS procedures involved cursory interviews on asylum requests, no opportunity to present documentation or witnesses, and the requirement of cash bonds for release from detention while cases were being adjudicated. For those Haitians released from detention while their cases were being adjudicated, employment authorization was denied.

In November 1977 INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, in a memorandum to the National Council of Churches, agreed to amend INS regulations by having asylum claims heard before an immigration judge and by granting temporary employment authorization to those released from detention. However, this salutatory step was reversed in July of 1978 when Associate Attorney General Michael Egan terminated employment authorizations and ordered a stepped-up schedule of asylum interviews often without counsel.

Boat People *(Continued)*

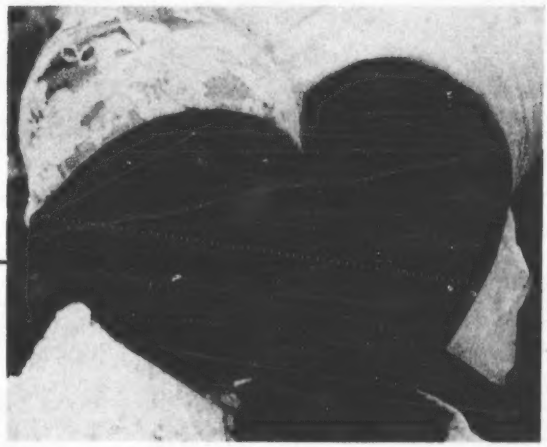
The Justice Department's actions resulted in several class action suits contesting INS procedures. In 1979 federal judge Lawrence King ruled favorably in Miami on such an action. He granted a temporary restraining order against issuance of further deportation orders. In a separate class action suit contesting revocation of employment authorization, federal judge William Hoeyeler granted a preliminary injunction requiring INS to reissue temporary work permits to more than 4,000 Haitians.

Haitians still wait decisions . . .

The stakes for the Haitians are high. It is now five years since the National Council of Churches' Task Force interviewed 300 Haitians denied asylum. In response to an assurance given by INS and the State Department to consider any further evidence secured, these affidavits — giving names, dates and places regarding torture, escape from prison, and other pertinent information, were submitted to INS. But nothing as yet has happened as a result of the submission of these affidavits.

For eight years, the Haitian refugees' asylum claims have been in litigation. As Judge King in Miami declared, the plight of the Haitian refugees is "a political problem, not a legal problem." The National Council of Churches has taken a leading role in advocacy for the Haitians, along with local Miami churches and ecumenical agencies. The cost has exceeded $800,000 in emergency funds for food and shelter and legal expenses. Efforts of a small group of volunteer lawyers have temporarily prevented INS from returning all but some 550 of the 8,000 Haitians apprehended since 1974.

As early as February 1974 the NCC Governing Board questioned the U.S. policy of "selective asylum" by calling attention to the equity of treatment received by different refugee groups — Cubans fleeing a left-wing regime compared to Haitians fleeing a right-wing regime. On November 1, 1978, the NCC Governing Board requested that the General Secretary express to President Carter and other high level government officers the "urgent need for an immediate moratorium on Haitian refugee hearings and deportations occurring prior to hearings or access to legal counsel."



Church World Service

Haitian mother and child.

In a further concerted national effort the NCC and a number of other organizations urged President Carter in November 1979 to use his authority to parole into the U.S. some 8,000 Haitian refugees seeking asylum.

Thousands of Americans, particularly in Florida, have devoted years of effort to the cause of asylum for Haitian refugees. Many federal and state officials have urged that Haitians be given fair and equal treatment under our laws. Strong support continues to come from the Congressional Black Caucus; the Haitians Refugee Project; the Haitian Fathers, Brooklyn, New York; American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees; National Urban League; Archdiocese of Miami; American Council for Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service; World Council of Churches; NAACP of Florida; Church Women United; and the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

A Question of Equity

The plight of Haitian refugees continues to be one of misunderstanding and injustice. The issues are complex yet simple: The complexity derives from the political relationships of the United States with the countries of the Caribbean. Yet there are two simple considerations — the question of economic or political refugee has not been objectively addressed on its own merits; and the treatment accorded Haitians coming to these shores is in violation of their legal and human rights, and in violation of our democratic principles.

The United States can look with pride on its magnanimous response to the plight of refugees the world over. We have, indeed, set an example for the rest of the world. We clearly should not change the rules when refugees are arriving on *our* shores and not on the shores of distant nations. We have a clear obligation in terms of our fundamental principles of equality and fairness to judge Haitian refugees by the same standards and with the same humanity that we judge other refugees arriving in other lands. We must now act in accordance with these principles. □

Refugee Review

Middle East

Cyprus

"The need for external assistance for displaced persons on Cyprus is expected to diminish appreciably during the coming year," said the U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs in the September, 1979 report.

Cyprus is an example of international aid assisting the homeless and displaced over a period of years. In 1974, Turkish troops invaded after a Greek Cyproit coup turned out then President Makarios. Subsequently the island, the size of Connecticut, was partitioned. Turkey controls the north, the Government of Cyprus the south. Most of the 200,000 displaced, out of an island population of 690,000, are now settled.

In a six year period the U.S., the European Economic Community and many voluntary agencies have contributed $216 million for initial assistance and facilities such as housing, schools and clinics, under coordination of UNHCR.

Kurdish Refugees

After the collapse of the 1974-75 Kurdish rebellion against Iraq, approximately 100,000 Kurds fled to Iran; many later went back to Iraq. Mid-1979 estimates placed the number in Iran at 30,000 to 35,000. UNHCR has helped 1,400 to resettle outside the Middle East; 700 went to the U.S.

Turkey

Turkey resettles ethnic Turks from neighboring countries. In 1978 this program resettled 60,000 refugees from Bulgaria. The flow of such refugees is expected to continue.

UNRWA

This healthy one-year-old girl shows almost no signs of the serious symptoms of marasmus and malnutrition from which she suffered when she was five months old. It was only seven months earlier that her worried mother took her to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency center at a camp in the Gaza Strip. Treatment brought her weight from 3.8 kg. to 6 kg. See next page, "Palestine Refugees."

Palestine: 30 Years, No Solution

The oldest unresolved refugee problem in the world is in the Middle East. Refugees from Palestine left their homes 30 years ago. A generation has grown up in the camps.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, commonly called "UNRWA," began operations in 1950 as a temporary organ of the United Nations General Assembly. It provides services for registered Palestine refugees. Its mandate has been renewed periodically, and now extends to June 30, 1981.

Who the refugees are

The UNRWA definition is: "Persons or descendants of persons whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum of two years preceding the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948 and who, as a result of that conflict, lost both their homes and their livelihood." Originally, they numbered about three quarters of a million but, due to natural increase, there are now 1.8 million refugees registered with UNRWA. They live, both in and out of camps, in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank (of the Jordan River), east Jordan, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic.

What UNRWA does

It provides:

1. A broad education program, including 623 elementary and preparatory schools, seven vocational and four teacher-training centers, subsidies for 7,000 pupils in secondary education and a university scholarship scheme. Some 320,000 refugees are currently benefiting at a cost of about $108.2 million in 1980.

2. Relief services in the form of a monthly basic food ration for about 832,000 persons and special hardship assistance. The estimated cost of these services in 1980 is $44.9 million.

3. Health services, which include examinations and treatment at 99 UNWRA clinics and health centers, in-patient care in government and private hospitals, environmental sanitation in refugee camps and supplementary food for young children and expectant and nursing mothers. These services are available to almost all registered refugees and will cost about $29.7 million in 1980.

Where the money comes from

By far the greater part of the $185 million that UNRWA is expected to need in 1980 will come from voluntary donations by governments. A further 4 to 5 per cent will come from other UN agencies and private charitable and relief organizations. The total income for 1980 is expected to fall short of budget expenditures and, as in 1979, there are likely to be cuts in services to refugees.

During the 28 year period (1950-1978), UNRWA received $1.4 billion, of which the United States contributed $764 million, over 50 per cent, according to the U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs.

UNRWA has headquarters in Vienna, a representative's office at the United Nations, New York, and six offices in the Near East.

In the estimation (Sept. 30, 1979) of the U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs, "Little change in the size of the Palestinian refugee population is expected. Until the Palestine issue is resolved, the refugees will continue to require major assistance from the international community." □

Directory of Organizations

International

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): Headquarters: Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland. High Commissioner: Regional Office at UN Headquarters, New York, N.Y. 10017. High Commissioner: Poul Hartling. Regional Representative: Mr. John Kelly. Tel. 212/754-7600.

Established in 1950 to: 1) carry out the legal protection of refugees under its mandate and 2) seek permanent solutions to their problems. Also coordinates special assistance programs outside its normal activities for material assistance to refugees outside the scope of its statute. Representatives and correspondents in some 40 countries.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA): Headquarters: Vienna International Centre, Box 700, A1400, Vienna, Austria. Commissioner-General, Olof Rydbeck. New York Liaison Office: Room 937, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/754-4214. Director of Liaison: John Miles.

Established in 1950, UNRWA provides assistance to some 1.8 million Palestine refugees in Jordan, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon and Syria. Offers education services to children up to the lower secondary level. Other services include basic health and relief. About one-third of the registered refugees still live in 61 camps spread over the five operational fields. UNRWA is primarily funded by voluntary contributions by governments, with the United Nations defraying the costs of the small international staff and UNESCO and WHO providing specialist staff to direct the education and health programs.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration: P.O. Box 100 CH-1211, Geneva 19, Switzerland. Director: James Carlin. Regional representative: Jan van Hoogstraten, ICEM, Room 2122, 60 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017 212/599-0440.

Established in 1951 outside the framework of the United Nations. Arranges for transportation of refugees in cooperation with international organizations, governmental and non-governmental agencies concerned with refugees. In recent years has transcended its European framework to arrange for the transportation of Ugandan, Chilean and Indochinese refugees to various parts of the world.

International Committee of the Red Cross: 17, Avenue de la Paix, CH-1211, Geneva, Switzerland

Has traditionally acted in emergency situations. Once immediate relief needs are met and an organized national or international structure can take its place, it withdraws from the scene. Assistance ranges from food, clothing, blankets, provisional shelter and medicaments to cooking utensils, storm lamps, portable generators and sleeping mats. Because of its impartiality, the Red Cross can often provide relief to refugees long before concerted international action can be taken.

International University Exchange Fund (IUEF): P.O. Box 348 Geneva, Switzerland.

Founded to promote, through educational and humanitarian assistance, the liberation of countries and peoples under colonial and minority oppression, and assist in the development of the liberated and decolonized territories. Educational and training programs. Cooperates with United Nations Agencies, the Organization for African Unity and the Council of Europe. Supported by the Governments of Canada, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands and Sweden. Some funds from non-governmental agencies.

International Council of Voluntary Agencies: 17 Avenue de la Paix, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland.

Practical organ of cooperation for the entire non-governmental world. Present membership includes around 100 non-governmental, non-profit organizations. A special study group on problems of refugees worldwide.

U. S. Government

Office of the United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs: Room 7526, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. Tel.: 202/632-3964. Refugee Program Office, Room 7532, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. Tel.: 202/632-8870. Coordinator: Victor Palmieri.

Formulates policy and plans for U.S. refugee and migration programs; acts as clearinghouse for information on refugee affairs.

Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service: 425 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20536; Tel.: 202/633-2000. Acting Commissioner: David Crofland.

Administers immigration and naturalization laws relating to the admission, exclusion, deportation and naturalization of aliens.

House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship and International Law: 2137 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20510; Tel.: 202/224-2347. Elizabeth Holtzman, Chairwoman.

Studies and makes recommendations on the problems of refugees; has jurisdiction over immigration and naturalization legislation.

Senate Judiciary Committee, 132 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510; Tel.: 202/224-8050. Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman.

Studies and makes recommendations on the problems of refugees; has jurisdiction over immigration and naturalization legislation.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare/Social Security Administration, Office of Refugee Affairs, Room 1229, Switzer Building, 330 C St., Washington, D.C. 20201. Tel.: 202/245-8103.

Coordinates domestic resettlement of refugees.

Selected U.S. Voluntary Agencies

The American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund: 386 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016. Tel.: 212/684-1525. Executive Director: Mrs. Anna Matson.

Provides relief and resettlement services to Jewish refugees in Europe and the United States through programs administered by the International Rescue Committee.

American Council for Nationalities Service: 20 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018. Tel.: 212/398-9142. Executive Director: Wells C. Klein.

ACNS and its member Institutes assist immigrants, refugees, and the foreign born to adjust to the U.S. Since 1975, active as a resettlement agency in Southeast Asia, processing Indochinese for the U.S.

American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc.,: 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: 212/777-8210. Executive Director: Leon O. Marion.

Established in 1943 to provide a means for consultation, coordination and planning to assure the maximum effective use of contributions of the American community for the assistance of people overseas. A Committee on Migration and Refugee Affairs coordinates plans and activates for refugee assistance at home and abroad.

American Friends Service Committee: 150 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. Tel.: 215/241-7000.

Quaker organization dedicated to humanitarian service. Provides food, shelter and supplies, especially in response to needs created by war, disaster, gross violations of human rights, where provision of relief may lead to constructive community development.

American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees: 1790 Broadway, Room 513, New York, N.Y. 10019. Tel.: 212/265-1919. Executive Director: Dr. Jan Papanek.

AFCR was organized in 1948 to help resettle Czechoslovakian, Central and Eastern European refugees. Since 1975, AFCR has been participating in the resettlement of Indochinese refugees.

American Immigration and Citizenship Conference: 20 W. 40th St., 1st Floor, New York, N.Y. 10018. Tel.: 212/221-6751. Acting Executive Director: Gladys E. Alesi.

Coordinating agency for voluntary agencies interested in promoting a non-discriminatory immigration policy. Acts as a clearing house for information, stimulates studies and conferences on immigration and refugees, and provides the means for joint action by its members.

Directory of Organizations *(Continued)*

American National Red Cross: 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Tel.: 202/733-8300.

Assists refugees in cooperation with other National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the league of Red Cross Societies. Provides funds, supplies and assistance of qualified specialized staff in refugee relief. Reunites refugees with their relatives in the U.S. and maintains an international foreign location inquiry service to help refugees locate missing family members.

American Near East Refugee Aid: 1522 K St., N.W., #202, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Non-profit, charitable organization working to increase total assistance in cash and kind from Americans to Palestinian refugees and other needy individuals in the Arab world. Seeks to increase American understanding of the plight of the Palestinians. Efforts directed toward social and economic development in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

American ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training) Federation: Founded 1922. 817 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: 212/677-4400. Executive Director: Paul Bernick.

Organizes and maintains programs providing vocational education and training for youth and adult Jewish transmigrants. Affiliated with the World ORT Union which coordinates ORT activities throughout the world.

Catholic Relief Services — U.S.C.C. (CRS): 1011 First Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel.: 212/838-4700. Executive Director: Most Rev. Edwin B. Broderick, D.D.

Founded in 1943 under the sponsorship of the Catholic Bishops of the United States. Cooperates with local social welfare agencies in over 60 countries to provide emergency and disaster relief, refugee resettlement and rehabilitation, support for the disabled and infirm and self-help development projects.

Church World Service: 475 Riverside Dr., Room 666,New York, N.Y. 10027. Tel.: 212/870-2164. Executive Director: Paul F. McCleary.

Organized by 31 U.S. Protestant and Orthodox denominations to act as cooperative relief and rehabilitation agency on a global scale. Assists refugees in their own or other continental areas including the U.S., closely cooperating with the World Council of Churches.

Hadassah: The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc., Founded 1912. 50 W. 58th St., New York, N.Y. 10019. Tel.: 212/355-7900. Executive Director: Aline Kaplan.

Maintains medical facilities, immigrant camps, schools and agricultural settlements, and encourages and supports medical education in Israel. Assists in immigration and resettlement in Israel of Jewish children and youth.

HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, Inc.) World Headquarters: 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: 212/674-6800. Executive Vice President: Gaynor I. Jacobson.

Assists Jewish refugees and migrants from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and elsewhere. Global network of offices and affiliated organizations in 47 countries on six continents. Provides for pre-migration planning, visa documentation, reception, transport, etc.

Indochina Refugee Action Center: 1025 15th Street, N.W. — Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel.: 202/347-8903. Director: Robert Jay Stein

Involved in planning projects to meet refugee resettlement needs, and in providing basic information services to persons involved in the resettlement field. Working with public and private agencies in developing programs in such areas as community tensions, orientation of refugees and sponsors, and the needs of refugee children. The Cambodia Crisis Center, a project of IRAC, was established in December 1979, to assist in the mobilization of domestic efforts for Cambodian relief.

International Rescue Committee: 386 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016. Tel.: 212/679-0010. Executive Director: Charles Sternberg.

Nonsectarian, nonpartisan voluntary agency providing relief and resettlement services for refugees and displaced victims of war.

International Social Service, American Branch: 291 Broadway, 11th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10007. Tel.: 212/964-7550. Executive Director: Mrs. Rosalind Harris.

Part of a global network of professional services for individuals and families with problems related to intercountry movement or migration. Includes arrangements for the immigration of children to join relatives or to be adopted. Cooperates with ISS Hong Kong and ICEM to prepare refugees from Mainland China for resettlement in the U.S.

Lutheran Immigration & Refugee Service/ Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.: 360 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010. Tel.: 212/532-6350.

Provides immigration and resettlement assistance to refugees on behalf of cooperating Lutheran churches in the U.S.

Lutheran World Relief: 360 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010. Tel.: 212/532-6350.

Supports the refugee relief activities of the Lutheran World Federation.

Mennonite Central Committee: 21 S. 12th St., Akron, PA 17501.

Cooperative relief and service agency for 17 Mennonite and Brethren in Christ groups. Provides material aid to refugees from man-made and natural disasters.

Migration and Refugee Services (M.R.S.): United States Catholic Conference: 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel.: 202/659-6636. Executive Director: John McCarthy.

Responsible for all immigrant, migrant and refugee activities conducted at the national level by the Catholic Church of the United States. Coordinates with agencies in public and private sectors in resettlement and assimilation of individuals and families in American society.

Tolstoy Foundation, Inc.: 250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10019. Tel.: 212/247-2922.

Founded in 1939 to assist Russian refugees. Scope has broadened to assist other refugees. Headquarters in New York, cultural center in Valley Cottage, New York, and operational offices in Austria, Belgium, France, West Germany, Greece, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and correspondents in the Middle East.

United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Inc.: National Headquarters: 2606 W. 63rd St., Chicago, IL 60629.

Founded in 1944; ULRF grants refugee aid, immigrant assistance, educational aid, social welfare to the sick and needy; non-sectarian, non-profit organization.

United States Committee for Refugees: 20 W. 40th St., 7th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10018. Tel.: 212/398-9142. Executive Director: Wells C. Klein.

Private, non-profit organization serving as a non-governmental focal point of humanitarian concern for the world refugee situation. Supports UN specialized agencies working to alleviate world refugee problems and monitors legislation in Congress on U.S. refugee and immigration policy.

World Relief Refugee Services: National Association of Evangelicals, P. O. Box WRC, Nyack, N.Y. 10966. Tel.: 914/353-0640. Executive Director: T.G. Mangham.

WRRS seeks to serve the interest of those denominations, para-church organizations and local congregations who identify with the Evangelical cause in the U.S. WRRS stands ready to assist churches, community groups, and individual Christian families who wish to sponsor Indochinese refugees.

YMCA Refugee Resettlement Services: 291 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007. Tel.: 212/374-2184. Director: Boris Kazimiroff.

Directs national YMCA services for refugees. Acts as liaison for local YMCA's, cooperates with other national voluntary agencies and appropriate government agencies.

Human Rights Groups

(Condensed from the Members of Congress for Peace through Law Education Fund Guide to Human Rights Organizations)

Ad Hoc Committee on the Human Rights and Genocide Treaties: 25 E. 78th St., New York, N.Y. 10021. Tel.: 212/535-3700.

Supports efforts to advance the UN Charter's purpose of promoting and encouraging human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without discrimination. Presses for ratification of international human rights instruments.

Americans for Democratic Action: 1411 K St., N.W. #850, Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel.: 202/638-6447.

Liberal generalist organization with chapters all over the country. Has provided leadership in efforts to bring about reduction in U.S. aid to governments guilty of gross human rights violations.

American Committee on Africa: 305 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/838-5030.

Founded in 1953. Devoted to support of the African people in their struggle for freedom and independence. Informs the American public about significant African issues, mobilizes public support for African freedom and works for policies to strengthen this aim.

Amnesty International: 2112 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023. Tel.: 212/787-8906. Washington Office: 6th and E Sts., S.E. Washington, D.C. Tel.: 202/544-0200.

Worldwide non-governmental organization working for the release of prisoners of conscience. Works through groups of citizens called adoption groups, who come together for the release of individual prisoners of conscience assigned to them by the Research Department of AI's international Secretariat in London. In addition, fact-finding missions are sent to countries to investigate alleged human rights violations.

Argentine Commission for Human Rights: P.O. Box 2635, Washington, D.C. 20013. Tel.: 202/296-8340.

Non-profit, non-governmental international organization working for the defense of human rights and restoration of democracy in Argentina. Formed by a group of Argentine laywers who, through their profession, became increasingly aware of the need for a permanent national and international organization to defend human rights in their country.

Center for International Policy: 120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/544-4666.

Non-profit research group concerned with the study of the impact of U.S. foreign policy on developing nations, with particular emphasis on those countries with most serious record of human rights violations.

Center for Law and Social Policy: 1751 N St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Public interest law firm established in 1969. The human rights work of the Center, which includes conducting litigation to specific individuals is carried out by the International project along with the issues of environmental protection and consumer affairs.

Center for National Security Studies: 122 Maryland Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/544-5380.

Conducts research and produces information on issues of national security, provides information and expertise to concerned groups, individuals, the press and Congress. Assists individuals and groups seeking information under the Freedom of Information Act and coordinates litigation in related areas.

Centro de Immigracion: Georgetown University Law Center, 600 New Jersey Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. Tel.: 202/624-8474.

Provides back-up services for people doing work directly with migrant workers. Monitors state and federal legislation, judicial cases in the Supreme Court and federal courts as well as pending regulations relating to immigration. Conducts research on policy issues.

Center of Concern: 3700 13th St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017. Tel.: 202/635-2757.

Independent organization engaged in social analysis, religious reflection and public education on the protection of rights and the promotion of social justice. Linked with a large number of peace and justice groups (mainly Catholic).

Chile Legislative Center: 120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/544-3067.

Represents a broad network of church, labor, academic community and women's organiations as well as individuals concerned with the restoration of fundamental human rights and democracy in Chile. Action oriented, non-profit educational resource center for both the Congress and the public.

Clergy and Laity Concerned, Human Rights Coordinating Center: 1114 G St., S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003. Tel.: 202/546-8985.

Concentrates its human rights activities on supporting U.S. policies to: ratify international human rights covenants, promote diplomatic concerns for human rights world wide, recognize and correct domestic human rights violations, and end aid and sales to gross violators of human rights, unless it directly benefits needy people.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace: 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/688-4665.

Originally founded to study the reorganization or replacement of the League of Nations. Since that time, the scope of the commission's activities has broadened to include: the pacific settlement of disputes, maintenance of international peace and security, disarmament, trusteeship and human rights. Membership is comprised of scholars, lawyers, businessmen and civic leaders throughout the country who all work together on the Commission's occasional reports.

Freedom House: 20 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018. Founded in 1941.

Publishes an annual survey of freedom, assessing the level of political and civil liberties in every country. Maintains the Freedom House/Books U.S. program which distributes over 120 different books to students in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the Helsinki Watch, which monitors compliance of the signatories to the Helsinki Accords.

Eritrean Relief Committee, Inc.: P.O. Box 1180, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Coordinates relief efforts in North America for Eritrean refugees.

Friends Committee on National Legislation: 245 Second St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/547-4343.

Comprised of representatives from worshipping bodies of the Friends throughout the U.S. In its statement of legislative policy, the FCNL urges the U.S. to: adhere to the provisions of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the American Constitution, ratify the remaining 14 UN conventions in the field of human rights, maintain a consistent pattern of support for human rights at home and abroad and encourage the UN to investigate and publicize violations of human rights more effectively.

International Rescue Committee staff member interviews a refugee family, in Malaysia.

Directory of Organizations *(Continued)*

Friends of the Filipino People: 100 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/543-1093.

Concerned with U.S. military and economic aid, multilateral funding, political prisoners, runaway shops and their effect on U.S. labor, and U.S. bases in the Philippines. Its Congress Education Project is charged with informing the Congress of the full range of U.S. Philippine relations.

Human Rights Working Group of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy: 120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/546-8400.

Unites a broad range of religious, peace, human rights, research, professional and social action organizations in an effort to maximize the impact of non-governmental organizations on the formulation of public policy in the field of international human rights.

Institute for World Order: 777 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/490-0010. President: Robert C. Johansen.

Founded in 1961. Aimed at creating a social movement dedicated to the transformation of the present international system to a just world order. The Institute has four major programs: 1) the World Order Models Project to develop and implement new ways of thinking about the restructuring of the international political, economic and social system; 2) the Transnational Academic Program which has initiated world order courses in more than 500 U.S. universities; 3) the Public Education/Media activation program which seeks to inform the general public about world order issues and values; and 4) the Special Projects program oriented toward promoting a grass roots, public commitment to peace.

International Commission of Jurists, Association for: 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/972-0883.

Non-governmental and non-political organization with consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. Promotes human rights by the collection, preservation and dissemination of material on the Rule of Law and human rights. Makes private interventions on the behalf of political prisoners and sends missions to different parts of the world to observe important political trials. In a number of countries, the ICJ has taken the initiative in putting forward and elaborating proposals for law reform which have subsequently been adopted into the law of the country.

International League for Human Rights: 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/972-9554.

Calls attention to human rights violations through the publication of special reports, the preparation and submission of documented complaints to governments and intergovernmental bodies, the organization of investigative missions to countries where serious violations are reported, the dispatch of international judicial observers to trials, direct negotiation with governments, the publicizing of consistent abuses and the support of civil liberties groups throughout the world. Consultative status with the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the ILO and the Organization of American States.

Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL): 3538 House Annex II, Washington, D.C. 20515. Tel.: 202/225-8550.

Bipartisan, bicameral caucus of over 160 Members of Congress who work together on legislation to strengthen international institutions, stop arms proliferation, and protect human rights. MCPL Members work through four committees ("Arms Control and Military Affairs;" "Human Rights;" "International Institutions and Development;" and "Middle East Peace;") and through task forces set up specifically to pass or oppose bills or amendments being considered by the U.S. Congress.

National Conference on Soviet Jewry: 2025 I St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006. Tel.: 202/293-2262.

Major nationwide coordination agency for American activity and policy on behalf of Soviet Jews. Thirty-eight national member agencies and over 200 local affiliated councils, federations and committees. Founded to help Jews live in the Soviet Union with the rights and privileges of other groups.

Network: 806 Rhode Island Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20018. Tel.: 202/526-4070.

Religious lobby for social justice founded in 1971 by American religious women. Acts in solidarity with congressional district membership to pass national legislation which enables the poor to move toward systematic change. It has consistently worked for peace by decreased military spending, further equality for women, social/economic rights to health, employment and food.

North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea: 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/488-5600. National Office: 475 Riverside Drive, Room 1538, New York, N.Y. 10027. Tel.: 212/678-6260.

Mobilizes concerns of people in North America for human rights in Korea, facilitates their concerned action in advocacy of these rights, enables the sharing of information and analysis of rights conditions in Korea. The coalition is presently concentrating on South Korea because of North American relations with that country, but does not ignore human rights and other issues in North Korea.

P.E.N. American Center: 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010. Tel.: 212/255-1977.

International association of writers. Its initials stand for poets, essayists, editors and novelists. P.E.N.'s basic goal is to promote cooperation among men and women of letters in all countries in the interest of freedom of expression, exchange of ideas relevant to literature and international goodwill.

Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights: Box 1212 Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Non-partisan international organization which seeks to encourage respect for and publicize the state of human rights in all of East Asia. The primary emphasis is placed on China, Korea, and Taiwan.

Southeast Asia Resource Center (Formerly Indochina Resource Center): P.O. Box 4000 D, Berkeley, CA 94704. Tel.: 415/548-2546.

Founded in 1971 to provide expert information on the Indochinese War and people. Has responded to the post-war situation by broadening its focus from Indochina to the rest of the Southeast Asian region. The Center's primary function is the coordination and dissemination of information on the countries and issues of Southeast Asia and on U.S. involvement there.

United States Institute for Human Rights: 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tel.: 212/973-4752.

Affiliated with the International Institute of Human Rights at Strasbourg, France which was started with the aid of President Rene Cassin, who donated a generous portion of his Nobel Peace Prize award money. Sponsors seminars in conjunction with the American Society of International Law and sends students to the annual teaching session of the International Institute at Strasbourg.

Washington Office on Africa: 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/546-7961.

Coalition office of nine Protestant church agencies and the American Committee on Africa. Established in 1972 to advocate and work for a U.S. policy toward southern Africa which would support majority rule. Active lobby in Congress on bills that directly concern Africa.

Washington Office on Latin America: 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel.: 202/544-8045.

Established in 1974 by a coalition of religious and academic groups because of their concern for the economic, political and social conditions in Latin America and U.S. policy toward the region. Serves as liaison between Latin America and U.S. institutions affecting foreign policy such as the churches, the press, non-governmental organizations and the executive and legislative branches of the government.

Human Rights Directory

"Human Rights Directory — 1979" has been compiled by The Members of Congress for Peace through Law Education Fund and Human Rights Internet, and is available from Human Rights Internet, 1502 Ogden St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20010, at $5.00 per copy. It lists U.S. based organizations engaged in work in international human rights.

A Selected Bibliography on Refugees

EDITOR'S NOTE: This bibliography is limited to recently published materials reflecting the subjects covered in the 1980 World Refugee Survey. Readers may contact agencies listed elsewhere in the Survey for their most recent publication lists.

(Readers with research interests on countries or issues not discussed in depth in this survey should write directly to the U.S. Committee for Refugees, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Such requests should be as specific as possible, indicating countries of concern, issues under consideration, and how the information is to be used. USCR will attempt to provide bibliographies or referrals to appropriate sources of information.)

GENERAL

Books/Handbooks

Carliner, David. *The Rights of Aliens*, 1977. Available from The American Civil Liberties Union, 22 E. 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

How to Become a Citizen of the United States, revised 22nd edition. American Council for Nationalities Service, 1980; 20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018.

Human Rights Directory 1979: Directory of U.S. Based Organizations Engaged in Work in International Human Rights. MCPL Education Fund. Available from Human Rights Internet, 1502 Ogden Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010.

Sobel, Lester A., ed., *Refugees: A World Report, 1979.* Available from Facts on File, 119 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

Tomasi, Lydio F. and Fragomen, Austin T., (eds.) *In Defense of the Alien.* Volume 1: *Immigration Law and Legal Representation.* New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1979. (Note: Center for Migration Studies, 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, N.Y. 10304, produces a number of publications on refugees and immigration. The periodical *Migration Today* is available by subscription.)

Reports

New Transcentury Foundation. *Refugee Resettlement in the U.S.: Time for a New Focus*, Washington, D.C. 1979. (Available from NTF, 1789 Columbia Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.)

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. *Report on UNHCR Assistance Activities in 1978-79 and Proposed Voluntary Funds Programmes and Budget for 1980.* UN Bldg., 3rd Floor, New York, N.Y. 10017, 1979.

U.S. Congress. *Refugee Act of 1980, Senate Bill 643 and Accompanying Conference Report No. 96-590*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, 1980.

U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs. *1979 World Refugee Assessment*, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20520, 1979.

U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, report by Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, *World Refugee Crisis: The International Community's Response.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, 1979.

AFRICA

Books/Reports

Aiboni, Sam Amaize. *Protection of Refugees in Africa* Uppsala: Swedish Institute of International Law, 1978.

Melander, Goran and Nobel, Peter, (eds.). *African Refugees and the Law* Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978.

Articles/Papers

Ankrah, Kodwo E., "The African Refugee Situation: Policy Issues and Administrative Problems," Pan African Conference on Refugees, Arusha, Tanzania, May, 1979. (Note: A summary of the Arusha conference is carried in Issue No. 4 (October-November 1979) of UNHCR, News From the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees available from the UNHCR office, United Nations, New York 10017.)

Neldner, Brian W. "Settlement of Rural Refugees in Africa," Pan African Conference on Refugees, Arusha, Tanzania, May, 1979.

INDOCHINA

General Sources of Material

Several clearinghouses for materials and help have been established across the United States to serve Indochinese refugees and teachers/community leaders who are working with them. Information, education and bibliographical materials are available from each agency directly. In addition to those listed in the agency section of this survey, others include:

BESL Center
100 Franklin Street
New Holland, Pennsylvania 17557
(717) 354-4601

Offers resources in teaching English to Indochinese; will evaluate materials and offer advice on materials selection.

UNHCR/Errington

Eritrean refugees build hut on arrival at a settlement in the Sudan.

A Selected Bibliography *(Continued)*

CAL Hotline
Center for Applied Linguistics
1611 North Kent Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209
(800) 336-3040 (Toll free)

Fast response on urgent calls for information about linguistics, cross-cultural orientation. Many excellent publications explaining ethnic groups within the Indochinese population.

Indochina Refugee Action Center
1025 15th Street., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 347-8903

Maintains information on legislation, statistics, and conditions in refugee camps. Publishes a directory of national organizations involved in refugee resettlement and issues the current information through its IRAC bulletins.

Information Exchange Project
American Public Welfare Association
1125 15th Street, N.W., Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 293-7550

Publishes a biweekly newsletter *Indochinese Refugee Reports*. Volume 1, #18 (January 1, 1980) lists agencies and materials from numerous sources.

Merit (Bilingual) Center
991 Ritter Hall Annex
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122
(215) 787-6258

Offers in-service training for teachers of Indochinese children.

National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
1300 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, Virginia 22209
(703) 522-0710

Can supply lists of language materials not available through CAL.

HAITI

Books/Reports

Haitian Emigration, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, and International Law, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, July 1976.

Human Rights in Haiti. Hearings before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, November 18, 1975.

SOVIET JEWS

Books/Reports

Gilison, Jerome M., ed. *The Soviet Jewish Emigre, Proceedings of the National Symposium on the Integration of Soviet Jews into the American Jewish Community, December 26-27, 1976*. Baltimore: Baltimore Hebrew College, 1976.

U.S. Comptroller General. *Report to the Congress. U.S. Assistance Provided for Resettling Soviet Refugees*. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, June 20, 1977.

International Year of the Child

Refugee Child's Needs Stressed

In 1979 the United Nations marked the International Year of the Child. Each country was called upon to consider the situation of its own children and those of other countries, and to launch new efforts to meet immediate and long-range needs.

More than half of the world's refugees are children under the age of 16. In observance of the Year of the Child, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees sought support from national committees for various projects to help refugee children.

High Commissioner Poul Hartling stressed their needs in these words: "Refugee children face problems far more complex than those confronting children in their home countries. They are uprooted, many have been subjected to fears, difficulties of flight and even physical danger. All now live in unfamiliar surroundings . . . I think you will agree that for this most vulnerable and needy group among the world's children, we cannot do enough."

A total of $3.6 million has been given for the UNHCR projects to help refugee children.

During the Year, two conferences focused on the plight of the refugee child. One was held in Wisconsin, with assistance of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF, and the other at Geneva, Switzerland, sponsored by Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

Many sources have contributed to a trust fund set up by the IYC Secretariat at the United Nations. This fund, for which contributions are continuing, will finance various efforts, with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to receive a substantial share, for children's projects. □

For further information on refugees . . .

Further information about the world refugee situation may be had from: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 20 West 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018, or from one of the following local agencies which are affiliated with the American Council for Nationalities Service (see page 24):

ALBANY
Albany International Center
Wellington Hotel — Room 202
136 State Street
Albany, New York 12207

AKRON
International Institute
207 East Tallmadge Avenue
Akron, Ohio 44310

BINGHAMTON
American Civic Association
131 Front Street
Binghamton, New York, 13905

BOSTON
International Institute of Boston
287 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02115

BRIDGEPORT
International Institute of Connecticut
480 East Washington Avenue
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06608

BUFFALO
International Institute of Buffalo
864 Delaware Avenue
Buffalo, New York 14209

CHICAGO
Travelers Aid Society of Metropolitan
Chicago — Immigrant's Service League
327 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

CINCINNATI
Traveler's Aid-Int'l. Inst. of Cincinnati
700 Walnut Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

CLEVELAND
The Nationalities Service Center
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

DETROIT
International Institute of Met. Detroit
111 East Kirby Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48202

ERIE
International Institute
235 West 6th Street
Erie, Pennsylvania 16507

FLINT
International Institute
515 Stevens Street
Flint, Michigan 48502

FRESNO
Fresno Community Council
346 Crocker Bldg.
Fresno, California 93721

GARY
International Institute of Northwest
Indiana, Inc.
4433 Broadway
Gary, Indiana 46409

HONOLULU
Hawaii Refugee Resettlement Organization
(formerly VIVA — II)
830 Ala Moana Blvd., Room 227
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

JERSEY CITY
International Institute of Jersey City
880 Bergen Avenue
Jersey City, New Jersey 07306

LAWRENCE
International Institute of Greater
Lawrence, Inc.
430 North Canal Street
Lawrence, Massachusetts 01840

LOS ANGELES
International Institute of Los Angeles
435 South Boyle Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90033

LOWELL
International Institute of Lowell
79 High Street
Lowell, Massachusetts 01852

MANCHESTER
International Center, Inc.
99 Hanover Street
Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

MILWAUKEE
International Institute of Milwaukee County
2810 West Highland Boulevard
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53208

OAKLAND
International Institute of East Bay
297 Lee Street
Oakland, California 94610

PHILADELPHIA
Nationalities Service Center of Philadelphia
1300 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

PROVIDENCE
International Institute
421 Elmwood Avenue
Providence, Rhode Island 02907

ST. LOUIS
International Institute
4484 West Pine Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

ST. PAUL
International Institute of Minnesota
1694 Como Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

SAN FRANCISCO
International Institute of San Francisco
2209 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109

SAN JOSE
International Institute of Central Coastal Area
(formerly Social Planning Council of
Santa Clara County)
1885 The Alameda
San Jose, California 95126

TOLEDO
International Institute of Toledo
2046 Scottwood Avenue
Toledo, Ohio 43620

YOUNGSTOWN
International Institute of Youngstown
661 Wick Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio 44502

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Buddhist Social Service Organization
5401 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20011